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EXHIBITS

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	2750	1351		A Sworn Statement by Klass A. de 'eerd, Major, Artillery, Royal Netherla Indies Army	nds	12129
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Friday, 6 December, 1946

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST Court House of the Tribunal War Ministry Building Tokyo, Japan

The Tribunal met, pursuant to adjournment, at 0930.

Appearances:

For the Tribunal, same as before.

For the Prosecution Section, same as before.

For the Defense Section, same as before.

The Accused:

All present except OKAWA, Shumei, who is represented by his counsel.

(English to Japanese and Japanese to English interpretation was made by the Language Section, IMTFE.)

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now in session.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Hyde.

MR. HYDE: Mr. President and Members of the Tribunal, I wish to call Klass A. de Weerd to the witness box.

IMRSHAL OF THE COURT: Nr. President, if it please the Tribunal, preparatory to swearing the witness I wish to announce that First Licutenant J. T. Cremer and Captain G. J. Jongejans have been sworn as Dutch language interpreters.

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KLAAS A. DE WEERD, colled as a witness on behalf of the prosecution, being first duly sworn, testified through Dutch interpreters as follows: DIRECT EXAMINATION.

18 BY MR. HYDE:

Q Will you state your name, please?

A Klaas A. de Weerd.

Q I hand you prosecution document No. 2750.

Is that a statement prepared by you?

A Yes.

Q Is it true?

A Yes.

HR. HYDE: I offer prosecution document No.

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2750 in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: Are those lights intended to be on?

THE MONITOR: Yes, your Honor. We are having a Dutch-Japanese interpreter to come to the witness stand.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Logan.

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, when this statement was presented to the Tribunal in Chambers the defense entered numerous objections to it. I shall not repeat those objections at this time but we ask that they be considered as made again and renewed for the purpose of our record.

THE PRESIDENT: The objections were to the statement containing his opinions and conclusions, which were for the Court to form.

MR. LOGAN: That is right.

THE PRESIDENT: I do not recollect any others, Mr. Logan, but briefly re-state your objections.

IR. LOGAN: In addition to those, your Honor, we also objected on the ground that the statement contained a mass of detail which had no proper place in this case.

THE PRESIDENT: Irrelevant and immaterial matters. You need not state them, Mr. Logan.

MR. LOGAN: And we also objected to it, your Honor, on the ground that the method of presenting the case by means of a statement which has been carefully prepared by this witness and the prosecution was inimical to the best interests of the accused in this case, which we believe far outweighs the advantage that the defense have by having this document about a week before this witness appeared on the stand.

In addition to all this, your Honor, we wish to present further objections at this time. statement, in the main, contains a history of political acts which occurred in the Netherlands East Indies after December 8th, 1941. As a matter of law, those should not be permitted to be introduced in this case because up to the present time the prosecution has failed to present any evidence showing that any overt act was committed by Japan prior to December 8th, 1941, at which time the evidence shows that the Netherlands East Indies declared war on Japan. It is quite apparent from this that there was no aggressive war; and furthermore, that even with respect to the counts in the Indictment under which this section is proceeding, counts 1, 4 and 5, which refer to a conspiracy charge, that there can be no claim of conspiracy if there was no war of aggression.

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THE PRESIDENT: That by no means follows, Mr. Logan. Conspiracy consists of a mere agreement. We will not debate that now.

MR. LOGAN: Except, your Fonor, that the heart of that conspiracy charge is that the object of it was to conduct an aggressive war.

THE PRESIDENT: As of the date of the agreement the object was clear, and it was not cancelled by the Dutch formal declaration of war. We will not debate it now. You can debate this later, Mr. Logan.

IR. LOGAN: I just want to point out further, your Honor, that with respect to counts 14 and 32, the charges of aggressive war, this statement certainly s not material with respect to those counts.

And furthermore, your Honor, we object to this 15 16 statement on the ground that the political acts com-17 plained of in here are no different than those which 18 ny conquering nation imposes on a vanquished nation, 19such as is being imposed upon the conquered nations to-day.

THE PRESIDENT: The objections are overruled 21 ithout prejudice to the right of the defense to repeat 22them as submissions in the course of their summing up.

Mr. Hyde.

24 IR. HYDE: Mr. President, I don't believe you 25have ruled on my tender of this document in evidence.

THE PREFIDENT: It is admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document
No. 2750 will receive exhibit No. 1351.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1351 and received in evidence.)

MR. HYDE: I will read exhibit No. 1351:

"PERSONAL HISTORY

"My name is Klass A. de Weerd. I am a Major in the Artillery of the reserve of the Royal Netherlands Indies Army.

"I was born in Roermond, Limburg, the Netherlands, on 6 April 1904. I am of Netherlands nationality.

"After having studied law at the University of Leiden (the Netherlands) I entered a lawyers' office at Sourabaya (Java) on 28 August 1929 and practised in the Law Courts of Dast-Java, Bali and the South Last of Borneo until the middle of 1937.

"In 1938, after having been on leave in the Netherlands, I was employed for nearly a year in the Labour Office (Labour Legislation Section) of the Department of Justice of the Netherlands Indies Government at Batavia. From the beginning of 1939 I entered into partnership in a lawyers' office at ledan (Sumatra).

"On the 12th of December 1941 I was
mobilized as an officer of the reserve of the
Royal Metherlands Indies Ar y and served as such
with the Staff of the First Division in West-Java."

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"After the capitulation of the Royal Netherlands Indies Army, I become a prisoner of war of the Japanese and was confined in several camps in West-Java until the middle of September 1945. From the beginning of this period I acted as Camp translator of the Java newspapers in the lalay language. The Japanese camp authorities allowed Malay language newspapers to be brought into the camps until the end of January 1944.

"As the situation in the islands interested me in particular I sp nt much time in
translating these items extensively into Dutch
and, together with several friends, I indexed
these data according to personalities and to
subjects.

"Our intention was to prepare several studies concerning the Japanese occupation, treating subjects such as Administration Propaganda, Civil Affairs, Central Government, Labour, Policy, etc. as well as to gather personal data about Japanese authorities.

"II"

"I had already propared notes for several of these studies when it became increasingly difficult to keep this work secret from the

Japanese guards. As in January 1944 it became clear that we would shortly be moved to another camp we soldered copies of our compilations and indexes in time and buried them in various places in the carp grounds.

"From February 1944 until September 1945
I kept abreast of actual developments in the Metherlands Last Indies by reading Malay or (translated)
Japanese language newspapers occasionally smuggled
in, and by listening-in secretly to the Japanese
local broadcasts in Falay. During that period
I continually exchanged information and observations with new arrivals and through every other
channel available.

larly received Malay newspapers and in the beginning of September 1945 I recovered one complete copy of my compilations and indexes from their hiding place. In the middle of the same month I was released from the prison camp and was assigned to the Political Section of the Chief Commanding Officer of the N.J.C.A. (Netherlands Indies Civil Administration), later called the Allied Filitary Administration Civil Affairs Branch, for Java, in order to complete my work of collecting data about

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the Japanese occupation. A special section with a staff of twenty was created for this purpose under my direction; this section became a special branch of Netherlands Porces Intelligence Service (Headquarters at Batavia) in January 1946.

"In close cooperation with the Japanese Affairs Section of said N.L.F.I.S., with S.I.A.T.I.C. (South East Asia Translators and Interpreters' Corps) and other offices and bureaus I collected such data regarding the Japanese occupation as were available. These data were contained in, interpreter the practically complete newspapers and the complete Official Gazette "Osamu Kan Po" of the 16th Army in Java, and a fairly complete

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"set of the official gazettes of the other islands, cdited during the occupation period, further reports and surveys by Japanese, Dutch, Indonesian and other military and civilian authorities and private persons, seized Japanese and Falay official and non-official documents, interrogations of Japanese and Indonesian authorities, etc.

"In May 1946 I joined the Office of the Attorney General, Netherlands East Indies, with the special task of collecting such documents as would

be needed for the preparation of the prosecution of suspected Japanese Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal at Tokyo and in this capacity I continued my work of collecting data on the Japanese occupation of the East Indies.

"In the middle of September 1946 I strived at Tokyo as a representative of the Attorney_General, Netherlands East Indies, to continue my search for further data here.

"From this collected information I have prepared the attached report, entitled: "The Japanese occupation of the Netherlands Indies."

I turn to page marked 2, passing over the cover page.

"THE JAPANESE OCCUPATION OF THE NETHERLANDS INDIES "INTRODUCTION

"The Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies for convenience has been chronologically divided into five phases,

- "I. The period from Merch to August 1942, which can be designated the transition period.
- "II. The second phase, which is characterized by the consolidation of Japanese rule, lasting from August 1942 to July 1943."

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"ITT. The period from July 1943 to September 1944, which is governed by an attempt at winning over the population by promis s. Th. period from September 1944 to the beginning of August 1945, involving furth r development of the policy of promis s. WW. The p riod from the beginning of August 1945 to the and of September 1945, involving at the last moment on attempt to create a state, friendly to Japan, in the South. "The phases mentioned above have been more and less arbitrarily divided into periods and consequently those limits must be treated as being approximate. Occasionally for a better understanding a certain subject has been exhaustively treated in one of the phases, even if the events in question extended beyond a particular phase.

"Japan's polic" in regard to the Southern
Regions was broadly laid down in Tokyo for all regions
alike, so that only insignificant local modifications
were made, and then solely in the application and
not in the principle itself. Therefore, what happ ned

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in Java is treated as basic and mention will only be made of modifications in other regions of the Netherlands Indies which reveal important deviations from events in Java."

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"I. THE TRANSITION PHASE

"Beginning of 1942 to approximately August 1942.

"Throughout the East Indies, the entire Occidental group of influential persons in the administration and in commerce, industry etc., was immediately and systematically interned in prisons and camps hastily prepared for that purpose.

"Exceptions were provisionally made in the case of those Occidentals, who could not as yet be replaced by Japanese. As soon as the Japanese replacing them arrived, this group was also interned. A small remaining group of workers was also confined in separate camps, and their contact with the outer world was as much as possible restricted.

"In addition a large group of prominent Chinese, mainly on the ground of their past support of the Chinag Kai-shek regime, and on suspicion of their anti-Japanese attitude, was interned.

"The policy of internment became stricter in the course of time and from July 1942 these measures were, moreover, gradually applied to Occidental women.

"By the end of 1943 the position had become more or less stable, so that it may be said that all Occidentals not born in the Netherlands Indies, both

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male and female, had been interned, with a few local exceptions in the case of men and women above 65 or 70 years of age. Moreover, all Occidentals born in the Netherlands Indies who still showed apparent affinity with the Occidental world were interned, and those Asiatics, too, who were 'suspected' of having Occidental sympathies were confined in camps. According to official Japanese returns as of 1 September 1945, 62,532 persons (i.e. 20,676 males, 28,169 females and approximately 13,687 children) were interned in Java. Besides, all Occidental military personnel were made prisoners of war; this involved 45,000 men who, with the exception of 6,107 men were drafted from Java for slave labour elsewhere.

"Of the former Western community, only three groups were still 'free'; namely, the group of Axis subjects (who were not interned until after the defeat of their fatherland), few neutrals and a category of non-interned Eurasians. These groups were rigidly spied upon, and prevented from the exercise of their 'freedom' in many other ways.

"This non-interned Occidental community was subjected to very heavy pressure. Besides being spied upon by the Japanese Military Police (Kempei) and its henchmen, they were intimidated by continuous wholesale

arrests and trials involving hundreds of victims, and by the fact that interrogation by the Kempei as well as the treatment accorded by Japanese Courts Martial were such that the victims were deprived of all rights, and abandoned to arbitrary maltreatment and starvation methods.

"Occidentals were, whenever possible, dismissed from their official and private positions and appointments, thus depriving the greater part of this section of the community of its means of livelihood. All bank balances were immediately frozen, Occidental banks were liquidated, and the percentage payable in respect of liquidation was withheld from Occidentals. The few non-interned Occidentals were faced with practically no elternative than gradually to sell all their possessions. They were further handicapped by the fact that the Japanese requisitioned whatever took their fancy, generally without payment of any compensation. By introducing compulsory registration and the payment of registration fees - (150 guilders for Europeans; 75 guilders for Chinese and other non-Indonesian Asiatics) - the Japanese military authorities made the position still more difficult for these communities.

"Along with this, the use of Western languages

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was soon forbidden in public and business communications, and in certain places the speaking of Western languages was prohibited even within the home. Those who spoke a Western language at home, were suspected by the Kempei, and subjected to methods employed by that organization.

"At the same time, the Japanese immediately began to close down all schools. During the second period Occidental schools and education remained definitely banned.

"In April 1942 a ban on listening-in to radio broadcasts from outside the East Indies was promulgated. This prohibition was enforced by compulsory sealing and registration of all wireless sets, to make them unsuitable for the reception of short-wave broadcasts from abroad. In July 1942, sentences were pronounced and published by the Japanese Court Mertial, that persons who had listened-in to foreign broadcasts despite the ban and/or had spread news therefrom, were, interalia, sentenced to death.

"Throughout Japanese occupation, persons suspected of having failed to comply with this prohibition were regularly seized by the Kempei, tortured and sometimes tried.

"The possession of certain numerous specified

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offence. Such books had to be handed over and were bornt.

"Old monuments, - reminders of former Occidental influence were carried away, partly destroyed, or otherwise stored in warehouses.

"In most places, the names of streets and towns were changed into impenese, or sometimes lineay.

"Names of shops, commercial concerns, trademarks, etc., could no longer appear in Western languages, but had to be transcribed into Japanese or Halay.

mombers of the other communities, all expression of democratic or pro-Occidental sympathies was silenced.

the opinion of various communities could be freely expressed on problems of administration were abolished

"The first to be dissolved was the Peoples' Council, established in 1918, which exercised legislative and budgetary functions.

"Next, in Java, the Provincial, Municipal and Regency Councils, which similarly had legislative

"and budgetary powers, were abolished.

"In regions outside Jave, too, the various councils which had been established on a democratic basis to give the people an opportunity of participation in the administration of their country, were liquidet d.

"By Ordinance No. 14 of the Japanese Commander-

in-Chief, Java, dated 29 April 1942, all existing law courts were abolished, and in their stead 'apanese 'Law Courts of the Military Government' (Gunsei Hooin) were established. This new judiciary was provisional and was later replaced by a definitive organization.

"There was no provision for appeals. The decisions in all pending cases of the lower courts were declared to be deemed to have been affirmed by the Appellate Court.

"By Ordinances Nos. 2 and 3 of the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, Java, dated 8 and 20 March 1942 respectively, all meetings, associations etc. were forbidden. By Ordinance No. 23 of 15 July 1942 this prohibition was not only explicitly maintained, but also all chairmen were ordered to dissolve their respective associations.

"The only associations excepted were those concerned with sports and recreation, and scientific, cultural, charitable and distributing organizations.

"Even associations not prohibited were restricted in their activities; they were subjected to police supervision, and could only resume their activities after obtaining permission from the police, and registration. Meetings had to be authorized by the police."

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"In practice, activities were permitted only those associations, which accepted Japanese leadership and which could be used for propaganda purposes, as, e.g., the Ikatan Sport Indonesia (I.S.I., Indonesian Sport League).

"From the outset, the Japanese authorities built up a very extensive propaganda machine.

"Along with the first troops to land on Java, came the vanguard.

"These Japanese propangandist, organized in the Propaganda Section ('Barisan Propaganda') of the Japanese 16th Army (Osamu Butai), tried to establish immediate contact with Indonesian and Chinese politicians, known to be disaffected. With the assistance of these dissatisfied persons, in April 1942 the so-called 'Tiga A' movement was established. Local committees of Indonesians were set up to carry on the activities of this movement; but such committees had no function other than to carry out activities planned by the local Japanese propagandists.

"The se propagandists immediately seized control of all means of public expression. All public and private radio broadcasts and cinematographic activities as well as the entire Press were immediately placed under their control. For about two months after

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the occupation, those broadcasts and newspapers were still permitted to be transmitted and to appear in Dutch. As soon as the propaganda machine had been sufficiently organized, all newspapers were forbidden, and in their stead new papers were introduced in the Malay language under the direction of Indonesian and Chinese pressmen carefully chosen by the Japanese propaganda service. On the Emperor's birthday (29th April 1942), the first new Malay language daily paper in Java, the 'Asia Raya' (Greater Asia) was established, and continued to appear regularly until 9 September 1945, as the most important organ for voicing Japanese propaganda. At first it was under Japanese direction; but after the Indonesian staff had proved themselves 'matured' the direction was officially handed over to them; but in reality, the direction remained in Japanese hands.

"Other places in Java soon followed suit, so that ultimately Japanese controlled newspapers in Malay were issued in five places in Java.

"In addition a Japanese language paper, the Java Shimbun, was published in Batavia.

"In her propaganda Japan referred to herself as the 'liberator', come to establish a 'New Order.' "

"It stated, that 'New-Java' was to be educated to become a worthy member of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere under the leadership of Japan.

"The Japanese instituted a rigid censorship, which not only affected all postal, telegraphic
and telephonic communication, but also extended to
all photographs given to professional photographers
for development.

Furthermore, all public utterances were subject to consorship. This did not alone extend to all radio broadcasts and the press, but also to the theater, sermons, etc. Gradually theatrical companies, etc. were taken over by the propaganda service.

"The publication of books was also subject to consorship, and only works emanating from the propaganda service appeared during the period of occupation. By these methods the Japanese had control of all expressions of public opinion.

"During the period now being treated
Japanization of the Southern Regions was begun.

For instance, the use of Japanese words was immediately introduced for designating official services, offices, etc. and this usage gradually became prevalent during the occupation, so that ultimately the

reading of a Malay language newspaper was scarcely possible without knowledge of the offices, services, institutions, organizations, ideas, etc., referred to by Japanese words."

"The Japanese authorities introduced the Japanese system of dating years, the Japanese time system and the Japanese budgetary year.

badges. Emperor worship — offensive to Mohammedans — was introduced. All public gatherings and meetings began with the obligatory bow in the direction of the Tokyo palace. Most meetings ended with the words: 'Tenno Heika — banzai.' All Japanese days of celebration were introduced. The display of any flag other than the Japanese was forbidden. On the Japanese days of celebration the Japanese flag had to be flown on all official and private buildings under strictly prescribed rules.

"Portraits of members of the Dutch and Allied Governments were forbidden. These had to be handed over and were burned.

"The possession of portraits and other pictures of the Japanese Imperial family was governed by rules aimed at ensuring that there should be no 'lese-majesty'.

"Postage and revenue stamps were marked 'Dai Nippon,' and later new stamps were issued with texts in Malay and Japanese reading 'Dai Nippon.'

"The Japanese at once began to establish

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schools which taught only the Japanese language. When later schools for Indonesians were reopened the curriculum was revised to meet Japanese requirements and important subjects in the new schedule were Japanese language and Japanese songs and dances, etc.

"In the fields of finance and economics the programs applied in the East Indies were similar despite the fact that some areas were administered by the Army, and some by the Navy.

"Java and Sumatra were occupied by different Japanese armies and Celebes, Borneo, the Moluccas, Timor, etc., were occupied by the Japanese Navy, with practically no contact with each other. Nevertheless the basic principles upon which these regions were administered were entirely similar in reality.

"The first ordinance of the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, Java, dated 7 March 1942, No. 1, introduced Japanese military paper currency with the text in Dutch, reading: 'The Japanese Government. One half guilder. Paper money was issued similarly in other denominations. The East Indies guilder was reduced to the value of the yen. At first, the paper money already in circulation was retained; but later,

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when this old currency had considerably greater value in the open market than the Japanese occupation money, it was withdrawn and its possession constituted a punishable offense. The Japanese paper money revealed differences in the various occupied areas. In Sumatra, which was originally under the same military administration as Malaya, the same text appeared on the same background as in the case of the paper money issued in Java, but in English, whereas in the other regions of the East Indies, and in Portuguese Timor, the Dutch text was used.

"In 1944, new paper money was designed and printed in Batavia, with the text in Japanese and Malay.

"This paper money was issued in unlimited quantities without backing, which soon led to inflation, which began early in 1943 and continued to increase at an ever faster rate, until by the middle of 1945 this paper money only had about a fortieth of its original purchasing value.

"All banks, both official and non-official, were closed down at once. During the course of 1942 and 1943 the Java Bank (the circulation bank) and private banks were liquidated. The Post Office Savings Bank and the Peoples' General Credit Bank

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which largely had Indonesian clients, were reopened under Japanese names and under Japanese direction, but the balances due at the time of the closing remained frozen. Later, the cash deposits of Indonesian clients were partly unfrozen while the deposits of Occidentals and internees and prisoners remained frozen, and were transferred to the Japanese established Enemy Property Administration Bureau (Tekisan Kanribu), which was charged with the 'custody' of enemy property. This institution liquidated nearly all confiscated property, and credited in its books the owners thereof, when known, with the proceeds in Japanese paper money.

"Late", after May 1945, this liquidation
was hastened. In Batavia the Kempei and its
members were frequently the purchasers at so-called
public auctions, and the proceeds in Japanese
occupation money bore no reasonable relation to the
real price for the same article in the same paper
money in the open market.

"All stocks of Occidental importers, as well as private possessions in the form of movables and claims for payment (when capable of realization) owned by Occidentals were translated into claims in Japanese paper money on the above-named Tekisan

Kanribu. Possession of 'enemy property' constituted a punishable offense and the holder was obliged to hand it over. Even non-interned Eurasians were considered enemy nationals, so that rents, due them, had to be paid to the Japanese. Unsold property was delivered upon request to Japanese officials and individuals, and their proteges.

"Before the war, in the Netherlands Indies, big capital, chiefly contributed by Occidentals, had been invested in agricultural enterprises and industries. The agricultural enterprises (excepting sugar-factories, which were organized in the 'Java Togyo Rengo Kai') were brought by the Japanese under the 'Saibai Kigyoo Kanrikoodan.' This organization had charge of the administration of 'enemy' agricultural concerns under the Tekisan Kanribu and the control over all other agricultural enterprises including those operated with Indonesian or Chinese capital. Little attention was paid to the interests of owners. This body executed a policy directed towards carrying out a rigorous war effort and to the maintenance of production required by the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. Enterprises and industries which were of no importance to the immediate war effort, were whenever possible switched

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over to other production, or when that was not feasible, were retained if such retention were deemed worthwhile from the point of view of the anticipated requirements of the Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere at the end of the war. Tea and rubber plantations suffered seriously, because the Japanese, during the later stages of the occupation, gave precedence to food crops. Tea plants and rubber trees were chopped and used for firewood, the estates being parceled out amongst local farmers to increase areas for food crops.

"A large part of the Western-owned agricultural enterprises was liquidated. The entire
sugar industry was allotted in six or seven blocks
to the large Japanese sugar companies, and was
exploited by them under the continued direction and
control of the above-mentioned body.

"Sugar production was reduced considerably and the machinery belonging to the unworked sugar factories was partly scrapped or carried off, when the factories were not switched over to produce other commodities more important for the war effort, such as alcohol, butanol, etc.

"The possession of immovable property belonging to Occidentals or governmental institutions, was

transferred by the Japanese to the 'Hudoosan Kanrikoodan' established by them, which handed over the property as required to the Japanese military or civil authorities for business and for personal purposes.

"Ownership of immovable property was drastically changed by the Japanese.

"The so-called 'private estates' were appropriated by the Military Government without the payment of any compensation to the owners, under Ordinance No. 17 of the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, Java, dated 1 June 1942.

"In the other islands too, such expropriations took place, as for instance in the Celebes, by virtue of an Ordinance No. 11 of the Ninseifu (the Civil Administration), dated 20 March 1943.

"Public utilities, including those privately owned, were seized by the Military Administration and were operated without compensation, and in some cases were allotted to private Japanese companies.

"Private railway, tramway and bus companies were amalgamated with the State Railways. The equipment of private railway companies was for a large part shipped to the Burma-Siam railway. Direction of railways was unified under the Rikuyu Sookyoku

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(Railway Head Office), and all trace of former independent operation by private companies was obliterated. The personnel of those companies was pooled and Japanese rank designations and terminology were introduced.

"Private or semi-governmental gas and power companies as well as privately owned mining concerns were taken over and operated by either the Military Government or Japanese companies.

"The policy of exploitation of natural resources of the East Indies was carried on partly by the Military Administration itself, partly through monopolies granted to certain big Japanese business concerns and partly by Japanese 'national policy companies.'

"The Southern Development Bank (Nanpoo Kaihatu Ginko), an entirely government-owned and operated bank had as its chief function the financing of the development and exploitation of natural resources in the Southern Regions and the control of circulation and finance in those areas. This bank was directed by the Ministry for Greater East Asia and it acted in the Southern Regions as cashier to the Japanese Army.

"The Japanese Government also divided up

natural resources in the Southern Regions between the various Japanese applicants and allotted each of them part of those areas, usually according them monopolies.

"Domei was granted a news service monopoly although a local agency had started first.

"Press monopolies in the Southern Regions were divided among various big Japanese newspaper concerns.

"In the field of banking, the Yokohama Specie Bank and the Taiwan Bank were chartered to operate in Java, and took over the functions of private Occidental banks.

"The liquidation of these banks and the introduction of Japanese banks was effected, inter alia, by compelling the bank debtors whose debts were declared to be claimable on 25th November 1942 to apply to the Japanese banks for new credits backed by the securities pledged to the Western banks.

"THE SECOND PHASE

"August 1942 to July 1943.

"During the period just discussed the
Japanese administrative machinery was relatively
simple. The Chief of Staff to the Japanese Commanderin-Chief of Java was concurrently Chief of the

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Military Government (Gunseikan) and was assisted by a simple 'central organ' and by three Army officers each administering his respective area in East, West and Central Java. Administration was carried on locally by Commanding Officers of occupational detachments.

"Original plans drawn up in Tokyo, envisaged sending out parties consisting of Japanese experts in colonial administration, technical sciences, and economy, immediately following the occupational troops. It was not, however, until the beginning of August 1942 that the provisional set-up was succeeded by a regular Administration.

"The Military Government, which at first was part and parcel of the Army, was next developed into a separate body.

"The gist of its functions was laid down in Ordinance No. 1 of the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, dated 7 March 1942, in which he assumed all powers which hitherto had been exercised by the Governor-General. The military administration (Gunsei' was divided into nine departments under the supervision of the Gunseikan. The departments were Soomubu (General Affairs), the guiding and policy making body; Maimubu (Internal Affairs);

Zaimubu (Finance): Sihoobu (Justice), Keimubu (Police); Kootubu (Public Works); Sangyobu (Economic Affairs); Kaikei Kantokubu (Audition); and Sendenbu (Propaganda).

"In addition from time to time a number of Bureaus, and other governmental bodies, without the standing of the Departments but under the Gunseikan and equally independent, were created to handle various matters, such as the Syuumubu (Religious Affairs Bureau), the Zoosen Kyoku (Shipbuilding Bureau), the Tekisan Kanribu (Enemy Property Bureau); the Toogyoo Rengoo Kai (Suger Producers' Corporation) etc. From time to time some changes were made, which did not affect the system."

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ministration was changed thoroughly and in its entirety. Neither a General Affairs Department nor a Propaganda Department had formerly existed. Police were under the Internal Affairs Department, while Public Health, Education and Labour (now under Maimubu) were Mandled by separate Departments or Bureaus in the pre-war establishment. Religious Affairs had been handled by the Education and Religion Department.

"The Government Secretariate, the Council
of State for the Indies and the Governor-General's
Cabinet disappeared altogether. The former Departments of general administration, corresponding in
name with the new Japanese Departments (e. g. Justice
Department) were reorganized along Japanese lines.

"All leading positions in the Departments were occupied by Japanese. According to official Japanese information, on 1 September 1945, 23,242 Japanese nationals were employed by the Military Government in Java, amounting to half the number of service personnel proper stationed there.

"Legislative powers were exercised by the Imperial Government at Tokyo, the Supreme Commander in the Southern Area, the Commander-in-Chief of Java,

and the Chief of Military Administration (Gunseikan). The laws and ordinances of the first two bodies were not published locally, although thousands were arrested, tortured and sentenced under them, while those of the two last mentioned organs were published in Java, in the Osamu Kan Po, the official bi-monthly Gazette, printed in Japanese and Malay. Some secret ordinances appeared only in the Japanese edition.

"The institution of Advisory Councils at a later stage did not affect the legislative position in any way.

"Ordinance No. 27 issued by the Commander-in-Chief, Java, dated 5 August 1942 laid down an entirely new system of local administration. Under this Java was divided into 17 'Syuu,' comparable geographically to the former 'Residencies' and one 'Tokubatsu Si' ('Special City Area') comprising Batavia. The four Sultanatos in Central Java were administered by two 'Kooti Zimu Kyoku' (Sultanatos' Bureaus).

"The former 'Provinces' of West, Central and East Java were eliminated. In early 1945, the Commander-in-Chief, Java, instituted three 'Gunseisibu,' coinciding geographically with the former Provinces

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but entirely differing in kind, as the Commanderin-Chief pointed out in an official statement.

"All these local bodies supplanted the former decentralized and autonomous local administration, and were placed directly under the Gunsei-kanbu in a rigidly centralized system. Local councils were not mentioned in the Ordinance, and popular participation in local administration came to an end.

"The Syuu were subdivided into smaller units in accordance with the Japanese pattern. These were given Japanese names such as Ken, Gun, Son, Ku, Si and Siku. During this second period the organic laws governing the functions of administrative bodies under the old system were abolished, and replaced by Japanese regulations, on which the centralized new administration was based.

"The position of the Syuutyoo (comparable to the former 'Resident') and of other local officials was, on one hand, considerably strengthened, and on the other made far more dependent on the Central Administration. The Fuehrer-principle was introduced. These officials, responsible only to their superiors, had a large measure of liberty in the execution of their duties: they had powers of dismissal and appointment, and almost unrestricted disciplinary powers

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over their staffs.

"They were empowered to issue regulations to implement ordinances promulgated by higher authority and also regulations concerning matters not yet covered by such ordinances. However, they were subject to the authority of their superiors and were responsible to them in all cases. According to statements by Japanese Syuutyoo and similar authorities, the object the Japanese had in mind was to build up an administration which in its final form should be on the same lines as those followed in their colonies in Formosa and Korea.

"The four ruling Sultans were maintained, not as having hereditary title to their positions, but as newly invested Rulers called 'Ko' owing allegiance to the Japanese Army in the same way as all civilian officials did.

"All key-positions in the new establishment were occupied by Japanese. From the Gunseikan down to the Syuu Office, the staff was almost entirely Japanese. From the Ken Office downward, the Indonesian staff was almost wholly maintained. The Kentyoo, however, was, from 1944 onward, assisted by Japanese advisors.

"The composition of the Administrative

Corps was modified later pursuant to Prime Minister TOJO's promises. However, leading positions remained in the hands of Japanese and if an Indonesian held an important post there was always a Japanese who was the real executive.

"It was not until the end of August 1945 that Japanese officials handed over actual authority to their Indonesian colleagues.

"According to the biographies of the Japanese officials, published by the propaganda service, this corps was assembled chiefly in colonial Formosa and Korea, and some had been engaged in administrative functions in Japan proper."

"The establishment of a new administrative system in islands other than Java developed along the same lines.

"In the initial stage, Sumatra along with Malaya formed an administrative unit under an Army Commander at Singapore, but later Sumatra was placed under a separate Gunseikanbu.

"The 16th and 25th Armies (Java and Sumatra respectively) came under the 7th Area Army with Head-quarters at Singapore, commanded in the final stages by ITAGAKI, Seishiro. This 7th Area Army came under the Southern Theater commanded by Field Marshal TERAUCHI.

"The Military Administration operated pursuent to both orders issued through the ordinary channels of command and issued directly from the Ministry of War.

"In the Celebes, Borneo and all islands east of a line running north and south through Bali and Macassar Straits the Japanese Navy was in power. While the terminology varied, the system was not substantially different. The same principles of centralized administration were applied and relations between Japanese and Indonesian officials were the same.

"Administration in territory under Navel Occupation (Minsei) was executed by the Minseihu (Headquarters)

at Macessar (Celebes).

"The Minseihu at Macassar was under the command of the Officer Commanding the Second Southern Squadron, whose Headquarters was at Sourabaya. This Headquarters fell under the Officer Commanding the 7th Southern Squadron at Singapore.

"Parallel with reorganization of the Administration, the Judicial System was entirely revised. In
addition to the Gunsei Hooin (Courts of the Military
Administration), set up in the first period to replace
the former Courts, there were the Gun Kaigi, a Court
Martial proper, to try Japanese service personnel
and others subject to Court Martial, and the Gunritu
Kaigi, a Court Martial to try violations of the Army
Ordinances.

"The Gunsei Hooin itself had jurisdiction to try violations of Military Government Ordinances and Regulations, and former Ordinances declared in force by the Military Government. This jurisdiction was shared with the Gunritu Kaigi.

"Ordinance No. 14, of the Commander-in-Chief, Java, dated 26 September, 1942, gave the Gunsei Hooin their final form.

"Eight type of courts were set up, all bearing Japanese names, and including the Saikoo Hooin (Final

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Court of Appeal) and the Kostoo Hooin (Intermediary Courts of Appeal), the personnel of both of which at first was entirely Japanese. The lower courts comprised the Police Court, the District Court and other local courts corresponding to the local administrative subdivisions, and two special religious courts, all manned by Indonesians and directly controlled by the Intermediary Courts of Appeal.

"To each court a Kensatu-Kyoku (Prosecution Section) was attached. This system was strongly centralized under the Justice Department. At a later stage it was detached from the Justice Department, and combined with the police force under the Police Department which was renamed Public Security Department (Tianbu).

"In criminal courts with Indonesian members a representative of the Kempei attended the sessions, seated next to the representative of the Kensatu-kyoku.

"In the initial stages the former Penal Code
was maintained. Having determined that this criminal
law was based on excessively democratic foundations the
Japanese introduced a new Penal Code in 1944, in which
criminal acts were defined in vague terms, leaving
wide scope for interpretation. High minima of punishment
were introduced for special offenses."

"During the Japanese occuration interference by the Japanese Administration occurred frequently in trials by Indonesian courts. In practice it was the Kempei representative, attending criminal sessions, who determined the sentence in criminal cases.

"During the session only Japanese and Malay languages were allowed.

"Trials by the Courts Martial proper were conducted in Japanese and proper interpretation was seldom available.

"In the other islands of the East Indies judicial powers were administered in the same manner. Former courts were abolished and new Japanese courts established.

"At the outset of the occupation the Japanese authorities took over the Police School at Sukabumi, Java. Also in the capitals of the various Syuu, permanent courtses for the training of police personnel, led by Japanese, were established. Finally propaganda courses for personnel already in the service were conducted regularly, in which the ideals of Greater East Asia and Japan's might were taught. A system of corporal maltreatment, administered on the spot or at the police station, for the settlement of minor infractions was introduced. Maltreatment as a punishment for

insignificant offenses was seen daily in the streets.

Acertain section of the Indonesian Police Force adopted the tactics of the Kempei.

"A separate Police Department, later the Public Security Department, was established along centralized lines and all executive functions were taken over by the Japanese.

"The existing Force was felt to be insufficient by the Japanese authorities. Various ways to remedy this situation were attempted.

"The Kempeihoo, an Indonesian extension of the Kempei, trained by Kempei personnel in Kempei methods, was organized. It was both feared and hated by the people.

"In April 1943, a Keibooden (a sort of Village Guards) was organized as an auxiliary police force in all villages and municipalities. This reinforced the regular police by approximately 1,300,000."

THE PRESIDENT: This is a convenient break. We will recess for fifteen minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1045, a recess was taken until 1100, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Hyde.

MR. HYDE: Mr. President, with the Tribunal's permission, Mrs. Strooker will continue the reading of exhibit 1350.

THE PRESIDENT: Mrs. Strooker.

MRS. STROOKER: I continue on page 21. (Reading:)

"The Keibooden had a variety of duties.

It had to go into action in case of fire or other calematies, it had to assist the regular police in apprehensions of crashed allied air craws, paratroopers and others, did 24-hour guard duties in its area, turned out in force during public propaganda meetings etc. Its main duty consisted of spying, chiefly in a general campaign against enemy spies.

"In 1945, these Keiboodan were used to train the population in guerilla action, such as cutting lines of communication, destruction of small enemy detachments, etc., with wholly inadequate weapons such as bamboo spears. This training taught the simple farmer fear of foreigners and hate for Occidentals and led to barbarous display

of cruelty to these foreigners.

"A third force suxiliary to the police, was set up early in 1945, and called Feibootai, which operated only in towns and served the same purpose as the Keiboodan. Its members were recruited chiefly from among the Chinese.

"The Kempei-Hoo was part of the Kempei. Both the Keibooden and the Keibootai although Japanese-led, and trained, formed no part of the official Army organization. The members of the two

latter were 'volunteers', if the required numbers were not filled, the remainder were drafted.

"The prison system was similarly reorganized under Japanese instructions. Courses were held for the training of newly recruited personnel as well as for the 'improvement' of personnel with previous service. Japanese designations and Japanese markings were introduced. The treatment of prisoners was inhumane.

"The Military Government proceeded to lay down a revised educational program with a view to reopening schools for Indonesians.

"Elementary education in the People's Schools was revised. Instruction in the Japanese language, songs and dances, and the Japanese type of physical training was introduced. Instruction in reading and mathematics, was substantially reduced and the remainder of the curriculum abolished.

"The several types of intermediate schools, with their varied curricula, were abolished to make place for one standard type of intermediate school with a uniform curriculum. This school was divided into a First and a Higher School. The curriculum was very much simplified with foreign languages and general history dropped to make place for Japanese

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language and history. Textbooks on the history of the islands were burned and a new textbook was introduced, which emphasized racial affinities and ties of common destiny with Japan.

"An entirely mew subject was the 'Seisin'
(Spirit), which taught Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity
Sphere ideals to the younger generation, such as the
Spirit should be able to overcome all material
obstacles. In this vein youngsters were exhorted
to fight tanks and other modern weapons, with bamboo
spears if necessary.

"Vocational schools were reorganized to conform with Japanese conceptions.

"Batavia Medical College was reopened on 9 March 1943, commemoration day of the 'Foundation of New Java', under the name of Ika Daigaku. Its first president was a Japanese professor, assisted by nine newly appointed Indonesian professors, most of them former associate professors at that College. Six months later, these nine Indonesian professors were demoted to associate professors and succeeded by Japanese professors, brought from Japan, who lectured in Japanese. Instruction in the Japanese language had been obligatory from the outset.

"The students pledged themselves to enter

the Japanese Military Government service after graduation. Students were billeted and were subject to a strict and semi-military regimentation under specially appointed Japanese, who instructed them in the greatness of Japan and the ideals of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere.

"The curriculum of the Medical College was reduced from six to four years.

"The Literary, Law and Technical Colleges were not reopened. However, in 1944, again on 9 March, a sort of higher vocational school with a limited program covering three years was opened. Students were subjected to the same routine.

"Law College was supplanted by one year courses for the training of civilian officials and lawyers. Much time was spent on instruction in the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere ideals and the greatness of Japan. Same regimentation of students was in force. Instruction in the Japanese Language played an important part.

"Private education remained taboo for a long time. In 1943 and 1944, certain former private schools for Indonesians and for Chinese were allowed to reorganize but the curriculum had to conform to the official program."

"Western teaching and education to Occidentals were prohibited throughout the occupation. This prohibition was strictly enforced, and the mere suspicion of having taught Occidentals was sufficient to involve the suspect with the Kampei.

"Considerable numbers of Indonesian College students as well as graduates and prominent personalities from the Indonesian community were sent to Japan. A party of journalists from all the islands were taken to Japan to attend the Greater East Asia Journalists! Conference.

"All sections of society were organized into corporations along fascist lines.

"The organization and political coordination of society was carried out among all racial and political groups as well as among practically all professions and trades, practically all economic sections of society, all cultural groups, all religious groups, the younger generation, sports organizations, and women's movements. The Japanese authorities kept a close grip on a particular social group through these organizations and used them to command aid and support from its members for the Army or the Military Government. The corporations were required regularly to turn out in force during mass maetings."

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They were utilized for disseminating propaganda among the members. The Japanese used these corporations to keep abreast of public opinion and to conduct espionage.

"The Propaganda Department maintained close relations with these organizations. Addresses by Indonesian officials in these organizations were not only pre-censored, but were usually even drafted by the Propaganda Department. These corporations were under close and strict supervision by the Gunseikanbu. The various corporations, all serving uniform purposes and all modeled on the same lines, were instituted by Ordinances issued by the Japanese Commander-in-Chief, Java. Article I of these Ordinances read the same for practically all corporations, and stated that the corporate objective was support to the Japanese Military Government.

"The executives in these corporations were appointed by the Japanese authorities; Branch executives were responsible to the central executive; both were assisted by advisory councils appointed by, or with approval of the Japanese authorities.

"The executive body within a corporation was authorized to lay down regulations binding upon its members and membership was obligatory for all within

a given group.

"A typical example is provided by the organization of physicians, dentists and dispensers in the Java Izi Hookookai (Corporation for the Public Service by Medical men in Java), established by Ordinance No. 28, of the Commander-in-Chief in Java, dated

3 August 1943, which provided inter alia:

established with the purpose of coordinating those engaged in the field of medicine in Java, to train their knowledge and character and to broaden and raise their capability in curing, and the care for sanitation, so that in this way they can give their contribution to the utmost to the Dai Nippon Army in medical affairs.

"'Article 4.: Physicians, dentists and medical experts in Java, who are not Japanese nationals, must become a member of the Izi Hookookai, except enemy nationals.

"'Article 8.: Besides what has been mentioned in Article 7, the Izi Hookookai carries out special work necessary for conducting the Military Government at the order of the Gunseikan."

"'Article 9.: The Head of the Izi Hookookai can issue orders and instructions necessary for carrying out the work stipulated in Articles 7 and 8 to the members after obtaining approval from the Gunseikan.

vised by the Gunseikan. The work of the branch officers is supervised by the Syuutyookan (Japanese Local Governor).

"The lawyers, newspapermen, and most, if not all, other professions were similarly organized into single corporations.

"In all fields of economic activity there was the same picture of obligatory membership, unilaterally binding regulations, uniform objects and Japanese executives.

"All artists and scholars were organized in the Keimin Bunka Sidosya.

"The importantee of a truly Oriental artistic expression was emphasized and Occidental influences were considered inimical. Paintings and other artistic expressions were to be and were adjudged, not on their artistic value, but solely on their merits in relation to the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. This organization, established

in March 1943, showed the same characteristics as the other corporations: Japanese executives, obligatory support to the Army and the Military Government, etc.

"The Japanese attached much importance to the spiritual moulding of youth and they took the matter into their own hands completely. The Indonesian Youth Movement, which at the outset had been authorized, was prohibited in the middle of 1943.

"As early as December 1942 the Japanese Commander-in-Chief in Java declared that the training of the younger generation to be good citizens of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was of such paramount importance that the best Japan had to offer was not considered good enough. The matter of guidance and training of youth was kept an exclusively Japanese concern. The organ of control was established by the creation of April 1943 of the Jawa Seinendan (Java Youth Corps).

"Its aims were laid down as follows:

"In order to convince the youth of Java so that they will energetically cooperate with the Military Government and render assistance in the building up of the Co-Prosperity Sphere in Greater East Asia, it is necessary that they be given guidance and

training. !

"In every Syuu a Japanese Training Centre for local instructors was established, and a Central Training Camp was opened near Batavia, all under the direction of Japanese.

"Later, a Seinendan was organized in every
Ken and Si, each approximately at battalion strength.
Some factories had their own Seinendan. These were
organized into the Jawa Rengoo Seinendan, (United
Youth Corps of Java) on military lines and commanded
by Japanese officers of the Army and the Military
Boyernment.

"Age limits were set at 14 to 25 and if insufficient volunteers were forthcoming more were drafted. Only the physically fit were admitted and those were tested as to their enthusiasm for the Greater E.st Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere.

"The official training comprised instruction in the Japanese language oral and written, spiritual and military training, Japanese physical training, air raid precautions, Japanese music and dances, etc.

"The manpower for the Booei Giyu Gun (Defence Volunteers Corps), which was organized in September 1943, largely came from the youth corps. Soon after its establishment all other youth organizations were

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prohibited.

"Sports were also brought in line. On
21 August 1943 the Tai Iku Kai was organized. The
Tai Iku Kai provides the same picture as other corporations. In the official explanation of the applicable Ordinance it said:

world of all Greater East Asiatic nationals in Java, from office-employees to school-children, and also that of the Keiboodan and the Seinendan. Considering how important sports is for our spiritual and corporal training, for learning and developing discipline, and for strengthening the spirit and the determination to work, this Tai Iku Kai is of great importance to the War of Greater East Asia.'

"In every Ken and Si a branch was established; these branches were organized in their respective Syuu and these again were all subordinated to the Jawa Iku Kai.

"The Indonesian women of Java were organized in the Huzin Kai, founded in August 1943."

"Its objects and duties were laid down as follows:

"The purpose of this organization is to help the
Dai Nippon Army with efforts befitting the position
of the women of the original inhabitants and also
to raise the women's virtue.

"In order to assist in the conduct of the Military
Covernment, the Zigyobu (Working Section), is create

Covernment, the Zigyobu (Working Section), is created within the Huzin Kai; this body has to carry out work necessary for the improvement of conditions behind the front-line and in the field of savings, education, public safety and public health.

"In order to deepen the conviction of women in their duties towards the efforts of the defence of the country in wertime, in the first place to give instruction in first aid the Hujin Kai shall be allowed to organize lecture meetings and courses and to establish a close contact with the Seinendan and Keiboodan in conducting exercises so that in future when there is an enemy attack the work can be done as well as possible.'

"Developments in the other islands, were roughly parallel to those in Java. However, the Japanese living among less advanced peoples, with a lower standard of efficiency among their own Japanese personnel, and at the same time less depend-

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ent on the cooperation of the local population than they were in Java, their chief granary and supply base, they tackled the process of political coordination more sketchily.

"III. THE THIRD PHASE

"From July 1943 until September 1944.

"As early as in the first period, there was some activity by Japanese authorities in the political field, but the policy adopted locally was characterized by the Naval Liaison Officer at Batavia as a policy of 'wait and see.'

"Immediately after the occupation a prohibition was laid down in Art. 2 of Ordinance No. 2 of the Commander-in-Chief, Java, dated 8 March 1942, which read as follows:

"'Until further notice it shall be strictly prohibited to commit the following acts:

"'a. participation in any organization; attending any meetings; conducting propaganda in favour of the enemy; the posting of printed or illustrated placards.'

"By Ordinance No. 3, dated 20 March 1942, it was further prohibited to 'discuss, engage in activities, encourage, or make propaganda concerning

the organization and structure of the Government.'
"By virtue of these prohibitions certain

Indonesian nationalist leaders were arrested by the Kempei in April 1942, some of whom were only

released much later.

"In December 1942 to Jenuary 1943 a large scale round-up was conducted of Indonesians who had engaged in any underground activities of any kind that might possibly be construed as being anti-Japanese. They were - except for those who had been sentenced to death or had died in prisons - not released until September 1945. Even after January 1943, the Kempei scrupulously continued to guard against and spy upon all underground activity, which cost a very large number of victims.

"In 1942 the Japanese initiated the 'AAA'
Novement. This name was announced on big placards
displaying the following slogans:

"Nippon Pelindung Asia (Japan the Protector of Asia)

"Nippon Pemimpin Asia (Japan the Leader of Asia)

"Nippon Chahaya Asia (Japan the Light of Asia)

"The AAA for Asia were printed larger and in a more

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striking colour than the other letters. The themes which this movement elaborated were 'Asia for the Asiatics' and hate against 'foreigners belonging to the white race' end against the 'western exploiters'. The Japanese, on the contrary, were stated to be of the same race and stock as the Indonesians. The lenguage 'the Indonesian people who have the same ancestors and ere of the same race as the Japanese, appeared in Art. 1 of Ordinance No. 1 of the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Forces, dated 7 March 1942. Western influence was represented as being a corruption of the Eastern soul; Japan was represented as the Saviour of Asiatic peoples, and the Co-Prosperity Sphere of Greater East Asia under the 'paternal' leadership of Japan was represented as liberating the Asiatic peoples. Apart from the slogan 'New Java' or 'a New Order in Java', the meaning to Java of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was not defined. Use of the word 'Indonesia' in a political sense was not permitted. In most official publications the Indonesians were referred to as 'the original inhabitants.' ""hile the AAA Movement was in full swing,

further contact was sought with the Indonesian world, and especially with those who were dissatisfied

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with the former rule and the rate at which that rule prepared for independence.

"Chief among these was Sukarno, who was brought to Java by the Kempei in July 1942, and who formed the so-called 'Ampat Serangkai' (four-leaved clover) ith three other nationalists. These became the leaders, under Japanese supervision, of those nationalists who were prepared to cooperate with Japan. The four Serangkai saw in the Japanese promises a means of attaining the early independence for which they were striving. They believed in these promises and advocated complete cooperation with the Japanese Military Government.

"The Japanese also sought to approach the group of Indonesian intellectuals who were not discontented with the former rule and hed held high office thereunder. The Japanese Commander-in-Chief set up, in December 1942, the 'Kyuukan Seido Tyoosa Iinkai' (Committee for the Study of former Customs and Political Systems): 'in order to survey and study the customs and the former governmental systems of the country, and to contribute towards the Administration of Java.' Nine Japanese including the chairmen and ten Indonesians, including the 'Four-leaved Clover' and certain former Chiefs of Depart-

ments, former professors and members of the former People's Council, sat on this Committee. It never played an important role and was abolished by the Japanese in November 1943.

"The first request to the Japanese authorities made by the 'Four Serangkai' was to be allowed to form a party. This request was considered until 8 December 1942, when at the commomoration of Pearl Harbour, a big propaganda meeting was held in Batavia, and the Commander-in-Chief publicly promised that a single party for Indonesians only would be permitted. The fulfillment of this promise had to wait for a decision from Tokyo.

"On 9 March 1943 the 'Putera' Novement was created, deriving its name from a symbolic abbreviation of 'Pusat Tenaga Rayat' denoting 'Center of the People's Spiritual Power,' while 'Putera' means 'knight's son.'

"Its aims and policy were approximately similar to those of the previously discussed corporations, except that the name of this people's movement was not Japanese, but Malay. The Putera was not a party, but only a 'movement' with leaders and advisory councils.

"The leaders were appointed by the Commander-

in-Chief and were assisted by the advisory council in which there were approximately equal numbers of Japanese and Indonesians, the latter being nominated by the leader with the approval of the Gunseikan.

Local leaders were appointed by the Leader, with Japanese approval.

"The organization of the Puters was governed by rules laid down by the Commander-in-Chief, and its aims were officially described by the Japanese as follows:

"The object in arousing the strength and cofforts of the people is no other than to support all measures for winning final victory in the Greater East Asia War. Since the work of this Movement is very closely linked with the policy of the Dai 'Nippon Military Government, all leaders 'must beer in mind that they should have a 'profound knowledge of, and faith in, the 'aims and objectives of the Dai Nippon 'Army.'

"In this address the Putera leaders were further urged:

"'Do your utmost always to be fully aware of the existing limitations in the present

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'situation, and never lead the common

'people astray. I hope you will do your

'best to fulfill the aims and objectives

'of this Movement, and that you will co
'operate in the establishment of the Co
'prosperity Sphere in Greater East Asia

'and build a New Java to be a member in the

'family of nations within the Co-Prosperity

'Sphere in Greater East Asia.'

"The functions of the Putera were officially set out
in the following ten points:

"1. To impress upon the Indonesian popula
tion their duties and responsibilities

- "1. To impress upon the Indonesian population their duties and responsibilities in regard to the establishment of a 'New Java.'
- "2. To eliminate Occidental influences.
- "3. To participate in the defence of Greater East Asia.
- "4. To foster self-discipline in bearing all mental and physical privations necessary for winning ultimate victory.
- "5. To deepen mutual understanding between the Japanese and Indonesians.
- "6. To encourage the study of the Japanese language."

"7. To raise the standards of the Indonesian population and develop their capacities and character.

"8. To encourage the care of health and sport in order to improve the physique of the population.

"9. To encourage thrift and savings.

"10. To encourage higher production in every field and to develop a love of work.

"The Puters was only for Indonesians. The new social hierarchy introduced by the Japanese comprised the following grades: 1. Japanese; 2. Indonesians; 3. other Asiatics; 4. mixtures of Indonesians with other groups; 5. Europeans. Thereby, Indonesians, being the 'original inhabitants', were treated as a privileged category, while groups 3 to 5 were treated as foreigners, with the Europeans and Eurasians receiving the worst treatment.

"About the same time as the institution of the Puters, the restrictions on travel by so-called 'foreigners' were strengthened. Moreover, it was ordered that everyone must immediately inform the policy when lodging someone from outside the place of his residence. 'Forbidden zones' were introduced

covering the entire South cosst and the two Eastern and Western extremities of Java, where no 'foreigners' were allowed to enter and for which even Indonesians needed a pass.

"The first greet enthusiasm for the Putera dwirdled when it became apparent that the activities of this body, to which the population had looked forward, were to be entirely restricted to the basic principles laid down by the Japanese propaganda service. There was great disappointment when the originally planned Youth Movement of the Putera was forbidden, and the Japanese authorities set up instead their own youth movement.

"Feenwhile, outside the East Indies great changes had taken place. Japan had been forced from an offensive into a defensive position and lines of communication were seriously threatened.

"Against this background, on 16 June 1943,
Prime Minister TOJO made a speech in the Diet wherein,
inter alia, he stated that in view of the fact that
the people of Java had shown their readiness to eoorderate with the Japanese Military Administration,
they should be given participation in the government.
On this occasion TOJO also promised so-called independence to Burma and to the Philippines."

"In pursuance of this promise, Prime Minister TOJO visited the Southern Regions in person.

"Fnroute to Jave, TOJO called at Menila and Singapore, repeating the promise of 'independence' for the Philippines and Burma. In Jave no 'independence' was promised, but only participation in the povernment. The promise was coupled with the conditions that there should be complete cooperation with the Japanese Military Administration in order to win ultimate victory.

"Following this promise, in August 1943, an Indonesian was appointed Chief of the Syuumubu (Department of Religious Affairs), but actual control remained in the hands of Japanese section heads; and two others were appointed Syuutyoo (Chief of a Residency) in the two smallest Residencies of Java, with actual power in the hands of the Japanese Vice-Chief. Furthermore, a number of Indonesians were officially appointed to lower positions, which they had held before, and were incorporated into the Japanese Administrative Corps and were accorded corresponding Japanese rank."

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"The 'San-yo Seido' (Adviser System) was introduced, and Indonesians were nominated to be adviser to seven Departments. The San-yo only acted when questions were referred to him for advice.

"In all Residencies and also in the Special Municipality of Batavia an advisory body, the Sang Kai, was established to advise the Resident in matters of local government, by Ordinance No. 37 of the Commanderin-Chief, dated 5 September 1943. This Ordinance prescribed the numbers of members of each Sangi Kai to be appointed and elected, respective. The 'elections' were indirect with nomination of the candidates not public and the ballot not secret. The function of the Sangi Kai was to answer questions conerning local government put to it by the Syuutyoo with the right to make suggestions on the referred subject. It could only meet on orders from the Syuutyoo, and sittings were opened and closed on his orders. Officials of the Syuutyoo office could attend and marticipate.

"The sessions were only public for the opening address, which was drafted and censored beforehand, and for the closing session. The sessions proper were held behind closed doors. At the final session motions, discussed and settled during the closed meetings, were put to a mock vote and always passed

unanimously. Sessions scarcely ever lested longer than four to five days. The Chairman was appointed from amongst the members on nomination by the Syuutyoo. Every Sangi Kai sent representatives to the Tyuuoo Sangi-In, the Central Advisory Council of Java.

"This was established on 5 September 1943, by Ordinance No. 36, 'for the speedy and efficient execution of the measures of the Military Government.' Twenty-three out of forty-three members were nominated in advance by the Commander-in-chief. Of the remainder, eighteen were 'elected' by the various Sangi Kai, and two were nominated by the Sultanates. The procedure was the same as that of the local Sangi Kai. They were only empowered to offer advice in respect to questions put by the Commander-in-Chief or the Resident, and to make suggestions relating thereto."

THE PRESIDENT: Would you care to rest for a moment or two?

MRS. STROOKER: I would like a drink, your Honor, thank you.

"The actual direction of affairs rested with the Head of the Record Office, called the Tyuuoo Sangi-In Zimu Kyoku Tyoo, who was a Japanese, as were also the other officials of his office. The function of this office was to deal with incoming and outgoing vision over the activities of the Tyuuoo Sangi-In.

The Head and his staff were appointed by the Commanderin-Chief and the first Head was the then private secretary of Prime Minister TOJO.

"Similarly, the Secretary of the local Advisory
Council was always a Japanese from the Syuutyoo's office.
From the very beginning these organizations were used
as an instrument of Japanese propaganda to recruit
labour and 'Volunteers' for the military organizations
and to encourage the population to increase agricultural output and to deliver the cross to the Military
Government.

"As a further local participation measure wider administrative powers were given to the Sultans of Central-Java in elementary education, local government at lower levels, public health, and farming, etc.

ment of the Central Advisory Council, as was later officially declared by the Commander-in-Chief, the Japanese Military Administration took the view that the Indonesian population of Java ought to give concrete expression of its appreciation of Prime Minister TOJO's promise now that it had been translated into fact, and that it was their duty to demonstrate their

1 preparedness to support the Japanese Military Adminis-2 tration by organizing a Volunteers' Corps.

"The Propaganda service ensured that it should appear to the outside world that the inhabitants themselves were desirous of having their own army.

"At the end of August 1943, an old friend of 7 Sukerno forwarded a petition, signed 'with his own blood, to the Commander-in-Chief of Java for permission to set up a Volunteers' Corps as the first of a large series of such requests. The Commander-in-Chief declared in the beginning of October 1943 that he was favourably disposed towards these petitions, and that he considered, moreover, that the population of Java was very rightly desirous of offering some return for TOJO's promise; and by Ordinance No. 44, dated 3 October 1943, he instituted the Kyodo Booei Giyu Gun (Army of Vounteers for the Defence of the Homeland). The aim of the Corps was 'to call upon the original inhabitants (i.e., Indonesians) for the defence of Java, based upon the principle of the joint defence of Greater East Asia.'

"Article 4 laid down:

"The Volunteer Corps should be thoroughly convinced of the ideals and importance of the task of defending the homeland, and it is its duty to partake

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in the defence of the home country in the respective Syuu against the Allies under the leadership of the Dai Nippon Army.'

"By virtue of this Ordinance, the Giyu Gun was commanded by the Commander-in-Chief of Java. It was emphatically stated that this Corps was not to form part of the Japanese Army and would have its own officers, but it would be trained by Japanese instructors. It would not be used outside Java and would consist of volunteers.

"Recruiting for the first levy started immediately, but with the following levies it appeared that there was insufficient enthusiasm, so that with each new levy each Regency was told how many 'volunteers' were required in order to bring formations up to strength. One of the chief activities of Japanese propaganda was to encourage enlistment in this corps. In October 1943 the training of the 'officers' was started and lasted three months.

"The object was to form one or more battalions of about 1000 men per Syuu (Residency) which would together make up a unit for the defence of the Syuu. At the time of Japan's capitulation this object had been achieved. In the defence of the Syuu, the task of the Giyu Gun was mainly one of guarding road

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junctions, bridges and other strategically immortant points. "eapons were only supplied to these 'volunteers' for the duration of the drills, and training mostly took place with wooden guns. The Beppan, a special section of the Headquarters of the 16th Japanese Army, an intelligence organization, was charged with training, and at the same time made use of it both for spying upon the new volunteers as well as using them as spies.

"Prior to this, the Japanese had made use of Indonesians as auxiliary forces. Shortly after the occupation many Indonesian soldiers were partly recruited and partly compelled to serve as a 'Heiho' (auxiliary soldier). These units formed part of the Japanese Army and were issued a Japanese uniform. They were generally used in the Ordnance Corps, and to guard camps occupied by women and civilian internees. Heiho were sent off the island.

"The Japanese Navy similarly made use of Indonesian Heiho.

"Both the Giyu Gun and the Heiho were taught to speak Japanese. Commands were issued in Japanese, and the regulations were written in Japanese. They wore Japanese insignia. An important part of the training was instruction in 'Seisin' (Spirit)."

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"One of the important aims of Japanese propaganda was the increase of farming crops and their delivery to the Japanese Military Administration. The island of Java had to provide large quantities of food for the Japanese occupation troops and troops fighting in the East. Besides, the Japanese Army of Occupation was laying up large stocks of supplies. Java, which before the war had barely been able to meet the essential food requirements of its own poulation, was expected to produce more. This increase in production was obstructed by the lack of proper supervision over irrigation works, due to the replacement of interned Dutch experts by insufficiently trained Japanese, and by haphazard methods adopted by the Japanese in the pursuance of their ends in forcing the production of desired agricultural commodities unsuitable to the climate and geographic conditions. All this further reduced the area availabe for foed crops.

"It became less and less advantageous for
the simple farmer to hand over his produce to the Japenese authorities. From the outset, the Japanese
adopted the policy of the Netherlands Indies Government to stabilize the price of rice at a proper level.
As the Japanese military guilder decreased in its
purchasing value, the official price for rice soon

fell far below its former value relative to other commodities. Articles that the farmer used to buy with the proceeds of his rice became virtually unobtainable.

"The Japanese authorities ordered that 60 per cent of the harvest of food produced had to be delivered to them. They took far-reaching measures to combat the black market in rice and other food products, such as the imposing of closed regional economic areas, enforced by checkpoints on the highways. The threshing of rice -- except for individual consumption -- in other than 'coordinated' mills was prohibited.

"The propaganda service exerted all its powers to persuade the fermers to cultivate wider creas in order to obtain more produce. It also tried to persuade the inhabitants to yield their crops to the Japanese Military Administration.

"Not only in Java, but throughtout the Southern Regions, Japan used labour everywhere, for the building of military fortifications, airfields, strategic railways, etc. Java was a source for such labour. From the very commencement, Japanese propagands went all out to encourage the voluntary enlistment of these coolies. In this, at first, the Japanese were successful. Then the inhabitants learned how these coolies were being treated by the Japanese, their

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desire to work for them practicelly disappeared. This became worse when the coolies sent out of Java did not return, and no news whatever was received from them.

"The Japanese thereafter adopted conscription, whereby each Regency was informed as to how many coolies had to be drafted, both for the work in Java itself, and for labour outside that island.

"In 1943 the propaganda service started a vigorous compaign in which the 'Prajurit Ekonomi' (the economic warrior) was represented as fulfilling a secred task by working for the Japanese Army. It was no longer permissible to speak of coolies; the coolie was also a soldier, and his contribution to the war effort had to be greatly appreciated. The recruiting of the coolies was undertaken by every possible means; one of these was that the houses of relatives left behind were provided with a sign 'Prajurit Pakerja', and it was pointed out to the public that one should honour such houses and their occurents, whilst this sign was said henceforth to guarantee special protection. Furthermore, theoretically these relatives enjoyed certain privileges in the distribution of scarce commodities, such as clothing -- a privilege enjoyed only after all government officials had received their share."

"These Isbourers received less care than the prisoners of war and internees, and their condition was aggravated by their ignorance of hygienic precautions and medical care. While the correct figures of those who were transported outside Java as Romushas are not known, the official estimates of the Japanese after the capitulation indicate a figure of 270,000 men, of whom not more than 70,000 have been recovered since the war 's and. Most of the returnees suffered inhumane maltreatment. Accommodation, food, medical care were not only thoroughly inadequate, but in may cases absent altogether. During certain periods, 'romushas' who had died from starvation and contagious diseases were daily carried away by the cartload from certain camps.

"In religious matters the propaganda service made an effort to obtain complete cooperation from the population.

"These activities were especially directed at influencing the Mohammedans, who formed the large majority of the population, while propaganda among other religions was of far less importance. Priests and preaheers of an 'enemy race' were forbidden to conduct services except for people of an 'enemy race'. If an 'enemy' priest or preacher noticed an Indonesian among the congregation he was to see to it that the latter left on penalty of very severe punishment."

"This policy embodied three principles. First, the Japanese Army declared itself to be the protector of Islam and that the Mohammedan religion would be respected.

"For the second point the Gunseikan declared that religious associations would soon be authorized to carry on their activities and that they had the noble task of propagating the ideals of Great East Asia and the support of the Military Administration.

"For the third point, the Gunseikan declared that the cooperation of the Islamic community in respect to education was acceptable in so far as it was directed at full support to the Japanese Army and imbued with the ideals of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. With this restriction religious education would be permitted and officially supported with books and other facilities.

"The Syuumubu established a permanent training centre in Batavia where courses lasting three weeks in Japanese ideology were given to groups of sixty kiais and celamas each.

"These courses were also used to test whether

Japanese propaganda had any effect, and afforded a

means of selecting suitable collaborators. These

accomplices carried the propaganda to the simple rural

population, and were responsible for the production and delivery of sufficient rice for a sufficient supply of labourers and for enlistments as 'volunteer' or heiho.

"The Japanese adopted the old device of working on the fanaticism of Islamites, and they tried to persuade the kiais and oelamas to declare the Greater East Asia War as a 'sabil' (holy) war against the kafir (unbeliever). When the point that the Japanese were themselves unbelievers was raised, the 'common ancestry, the 'common race' and the 'destiny common to the Japanese and the Indonesians' were pointed out.

"In the beginning of 1944 religious disturbances occurred in the Indramayu district and at Garut. The Japanese held the Indonesian leader of the Syuumubu (Religious Affairs Department) responsible, and he was replaced by one of the oldest and most popular kinis of Java. He accepted this post and spent one day in Batavia, but immediately returned to his religious institution, leaving the direction of the Syuumubu to the Japanese heads of sections.

"From November 1943 the Mashumi became the organization through which the Japanese authorities ruled the Islamic intellectual world, and through it

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carried on propaganda for Japanese ideals, sounded public opinion and executed espionage.

"The relationship between the Mashumi and the Syuumubu was constantly strengthened until at last the Mashumi was for all purposes directed by the Syuumubu.

"Besides this the Japanese established Syuumuka (Religious Affairs Sections) in every Syuu under locally prominent Kiais. They had the duty of making Military Administration policy understood in the villages. These agencies were gradually extended even to the smallest local subdivisions under a local Kiai.

"The Syuumubu issued a publication called 'Asshu'lah,' edited in Malay, Javanese and Sundanese, but printed in Arab script, the only script the orthodox kiais could read. This periodical was distributed free of charge amongst all kiais in Java.

"The Japanese also made several efforts to coordinate the Chinese who although comparatively few in number, were the mainstay of the middle class. The Japanese first tried to induce leading officials of the many Chinese associations (which had all been dissolved in March 1942) to form one big organization, but the effort completely failed."

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"The Japanese decided in August 1943 to establish the Kakyoo Sookai with the support of z few prominent pro-Nanking Chinese.

"The Makyoo Sookai was organized along the customary lines, with its leaders appointed by the Japanese authorities, and close cooperation with the Japanese Military Administration as the prime object. No action was taken on their own initiative and the organization was used to disseminate Japanese propaganda and as an espionage organization.

"At the same time the Japanese made certain concdssions, such as permission for limited Chinese private school education, and for sending small remittances to their families in Japanese-occupied parts of China. This latter permission was not kept.

"The Eurasions, who occupied mainly the middle strata of technical and administrative occupations, were at first ostracized. Japanese replaced them in the higher ranks, but not nearly enough were available for the more numerous intermediate ranks, and trained Indonesians were insufficient in numbers.

"The first effort to secure the cooperation of the Eurasian group was made in September 1943. The Eurasians who had been regarded as 'aliens,' gradually began to be treated as belonging to the

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indigenous population next to the Indonesian group. The Japanese stipulated, however, that the Eurasians had to realize that from then on they were to feel and act as members of the Greater Last Asia community under the leadership of Japan, and had to renounce their western ancestry.

"The Japanese promised the Eurasians to admit number of their children to village schools which had so far been reserved for Indonesian children. Separate schools for Eurasian children remained forbidden.

"In the beginning of 1944 the Japanese decided to dissolve the Putera and to replace it by an organization in which all Asiatics would combine efforts to achieve ultimate victory in the Holy War.

"According to the Japanese it had failed to reach the simple villager, who comprised about 80% of the total population of Java and supplied the man power for army and labor services and the production of food crops for the Japanese. The movement became too strongly nationalistic.

"The new organization followed a pattern used in Japan and combined the propaganda machinery with the organization for the distribution of essential supplies. Starting in January 1944, the whole of

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Java was divided into small communities of about 20 houses each, called Tonari Gumi (Neighbours' Associations). These Tonari Gumi were organized on centralized lines. They were headed by a Kumityoo, who was appointed from above and who was responsible for the execution of the orders given to him. All existing associations, social, fire precautionary, agricultural, etc., were absorbed by the Tonari Gumi.

"The duties of this institution were very extensive. Not only distribution, but also regular training for air raid defense and guerilla warfare were its responsibility. Furthermore, the head of the community had to lecture at least once a week to his people on Japanese ideology and the practical application thereof. At these meetings the Japanese aims in regard to the population were extolled according to instructions from the Japanese propaganda service. This was done mostly by Indonesians, specially trained by the Japanese who remained behind the scene.

"Other meetings were held for larger units (called Aza; a village was divided into two or more Aza) once a month. One member of each family had to attend these meetings.

"All inhabitants of the area of one Tonari Gumi, including non-interned Eurasians, had to be members

of the organization. Only membership gave distribution facilities.

"On March 9, 1944, when the Tonari Gumi were working satisfactorily, the Putera was officially dissolved and the 'Jawa Hooko Kai' (Corporation for Communal Services in Java), comprising all Asiatic groups was officially installed. This corporation remained as the instrument of Japanese control until August 31, 1945, when it was dissolved.

"According to the official explanation accompanying the Ordinance (8 January 1944) founding it, the Jawa Hookoo Kai was set up as an organ of the Military Administration to carry out its instructions in an atmosphere of 'friendly cooperation' with all inhabitants. It was the organization's duty to see that these instructions reached all the people and it was to work in close relationship with the Tonari Gumi. Its leaders were responsible for seeing that everyone was enlisted in the positive support of the Military Administration. According to this explanation the Jawa Hooko kai was in fact an executive body, based on the principle of complete coordination of all inhabitants and was, therefore, an organization of the entire populace.

"The central direction of the Jawa Kcokoo Kai

was appointed by the Commander-in-Chief and consisted of Japanese exclusively. The Executive Bureau
under the supervision of the central direction had
several Indonesians. Branches were established in
all localities. The ku Hooko Kai, the smallest union,
supervised one or more Aza which in turn supervised
a number of Tonari Gumi.

"The leader of these local Hooko Kai was the head of the local administration, assisted by a council (Kaigi), appointed by him. A session of the Kaigi had to be held at least every six months, when ways and means of promoting assistance to the Military Government had to be discussed.

"The Tonari Gumi formed the lowest bodies in the Jawa Hooko Kai. Their task was:

"a. active support to police and Keibooden (village guards) in the defence of their country and during air raids, against enemy parachutists, enemy espionage, natural calamities, fire and crime.

"b. to make the inhabitants understand the aims of laws, regulations, etc., of the Military Administration.

"c. stimulation of increased food production; encouragement of delivery of these products to the authorities; the distribution of daily necessities."

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"d. general support to the Military Administration, e.g., by protecting members of families of Heiho (auxiliary troops), volunteers and romushas (coolies) who had left their villages.

"e. mutual help and assistance.

"The Jawa Hookoo Kai absorbed all organizations pursuing similar aims, regardless of nationality, in cluding the Japanese. The Huzin Kai (Womens' Corporation), the Mashumi (the Islamic Corporation), the Kakyoo Sookai (Corporation of Chinese), the Tai Tku Kai (Sports Corporation), the Keimin Bunka Sidosya (Cultural Corporation), etc., mentioned before, were all incorporated in the Jawa Hookoo Kai.

"The activities by the Eurasians for their mutual support brought on systematic prosecution by the Kempei-tai. Dozens of their leaders died in prison during the occupation as a result of ill treatment, starvation, contagious diseases (caused by crowded prisons without sufficient sanitation) or sentences by courts martial.

"Anyone who once attracted suspicion was tortured in such a way that false confessions were a daily occurrence; and these in turn often brought fresh victims within the clutches of the kempei-tai. A typical example of this happened in 1944 in Pontianak

on the west coast of Borneo, where more than 1200 prominent Indonesian and Chinese, including the local nobility, were executed on an entirely unfounded suspicion of conspiracy. Also in Java the Indonesians were in constant fear of the Kempei. Greatest care had to be taken in speaking since spies were around everywhere. There are hundreds of cases where people of all races were most cruelly tortured on the strength of reports of a usually entirely innocent conversation, by means of the 'water-cure,' electrification, hanging by limbs, use of boa constrictors, etc." THE PRESIDENT: This is a convenient break. We will adjourn until half past one. (Whereupon, at 1200, a recess was taken.)

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AFTERNOON SESSION

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Mrs. Strooker.

MRS. STROOKER: I will continue reading from

page 44 where I left off, your Honor.

"Outside Java the same policy was adhered to in regard to political and religious activities. Here again, following TOJO's promise, a number of prominent cooperative Indonesians were appointed to posts in the Administration. Bodies similar to the Sangi Kai (local Advisory Councils) were established but this process was considerably slower than in Java. Territories administered by the Navy in turn were slower to follow than those under Army Occupation. In the Naval areas (Celebes, Borneo, etc.) the stage where Tyuuoo Sangi-In (Central Advisory Council) was formed was never reached. In Sumatra, however, a Tyuuoo Sangi-In for that island was installed at Fort de Kock in February 1945. No organization similar to the Putera was permitted in spite of requests from Indonesian intellectuals.

"Compared with Java, propaganda in the other islands was more concentrated on the younger generation."

"'Volunteers Corps' similar to the Giyu Gun were established.

"The four basic aims of Japanese propaganda were given full play during the course of 1944. Using the slogan of 'Asia for the Asiatics' and teaching religious hatred, the Japanese worked upon all sections of society by holding courses of instruction. The first group to be dealt with was that of school teachers, followed later by policemen, heads of villages, minor officials of the civil service, higher officials, doctors, pharmacists, lawyers and personnel of all government offices. Even the smallest group was given attention in turn.

"This propaganda, however crude, was to some extent successful, partly due to chaotic conditions and the distress and hardships suffered by the population.

"The Japanese clearly realized the potential dangers of this situation. It was the task of the propaganda service to bend these sentiments in some other direction by way of distraction from Japan's occupation. There was a constantly increasing campaign of hatred against the Occident, especially against the United States and Britain, which countries, together with Holland were held responsible for all

the sufferings of the population.

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"IV. FOURTH PHASE

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"Fertember 1944 - August 1945.

"The strategic situation outside Java meanwhile had considerably changed. The break-through at Saipan had occurred and violently shook the very foundations of the Japanese defense. The TOJO Cabinet was succeeded by the KOISO Cabinet, which recognized that it had to face the isolation of the Southern Regions, and the necessity for the Japanese troops there to stand by themselves, and that it was more and more important to gain popular cooperation.

"When the way in which TOJO's promise was going to be realized became known in August 1943, disappointment was expressed rather clearly among those prominent Indonesians, who still placed confidence in Japan's promises. The Japanese were warned that they had to accelerate satisfying nationalist aspirations in the Southern Regions if they were to retain the full cooperation from this group.

"On 7 September 1944, in the Diet, Prime Minister KOISO, after having promised Korea and Formosa equality of rights enjoyed by the Japanese, made a promise of independence for the East Indies. (Exhibit No. 277)."

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"In this speech it was not made clear exactly what region would gain independence when granted.

"The promise of independence was conditioned on the people defending their own territory for the support of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere. The extent of this so-called independence was only defined by reference to membership in the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as an application of the Hakko Ichiu ideal.

"Previously, towards the end of August 1944, the 16th Army Headquarters in Java had been informed confidentially of the contents of this statement, and issued certain secret orders to various Japanese organizations. Those orders, Prosecution documents Nos. 2756 and 2757, were recovered in the building, used by the Gunseikanku during the Japanese occupation of Batavia."

With the Court's permission I offer in evidence prosecution's document 2756.

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

No. 2756 will receive exhibit No. 1352.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit
No. 1352 and received in evidence.)

MRE. STROOKER: I beg to be allowed to read exhibit No. 1352.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes.

MRs. STROCKER: (Reading): "SECRET.

"Notification regarding measures ensuing from the Proclamation of Admission of the Independence of the East-Indies.

"From: Chief of Staff Osamu Army Corps
"To:" (blank) (September 1944)

"We hereby notify vou that, based on the Prime Minister's proclamation regarding the granting of the independence of the East-Indies at the 85th Special Session of the Diet today, the 7th of September, it is decided that the Army will meet the situation properly generally in accordance with the following stipulations:

"1. The purport of the granting of independence shall be thoroughly understood (based on the Prime Minister's speech).

"2. It is not permitted to touch upon the time

/T.N. of the granting of independence/ the sphere of
the East-Indies nor the form of government until
these are finally decided.

"3. National consciousness must be raised to the highest degree; especially during the execution

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of the war this must be utilized to strengthen defence, co-operation with Military Government, and to make Japan and Java one and inseparable.

- "4. There shall be no great alterations in the operations and the business structure of the Military Government. However, participation in the Government shall be enlarged and strengthened, and political training shall be carried out.
- "5. Nationalistic speeches and activities shall be actively allowed; for that purpose the following measures shall be taken:
- "a. Permission to sing the national anthem and to use the national flag;
- "b. The use of nationalistic terms such as 'the Indonesian people' shall not be restricted.
 - "c. The appointment of nationalists.
- "d. Those advocates of independence who are connected with the Communist Party shall not be allowed to exist.
- "6. Investigation and study necessary for independence executed by the local inhabitants under the guidance of Military Government shall be recognized.
- "7. Thorough measures shall be taken for the spreading of the Japanese language, the adoption of Japanese institutions and the infusion of the Japanese

culture.

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"8. There shall be no distinction between the natives and other races, especially those who are to be treated as local inhabitants, but they must be made to understand the elemental point that they must participate in the construction of a new society, and must co-operate with all their might.

"9. All Japanese must realize and put into practice the mission of this new era in which the divine work of Hakkolchu(T.N. Same as 'ichiu') (T.N. the whole world one family) is to be carried out. Especially the idea of colonial subjugation has to be banned; and towards the natives we must be like parents and elder brothers and sisters, approaching them with affectionate feelings while instructing and guiding them sternly. Haughty and arrogant speech or behavior shall not be allowed under any circumstances.

"10. In guiding the public opinion stress shall
be laid on the raising of national consciousness,
the intensification of war-mindedness, confidence
in and reliance upon Japan and the desperate determination to win complete victory ensuing therefrom, and
on the manifestation of leadership in carrying out
these things."

"ll. Looking at the other side of the joy on the granting of independence we naturally anticipate the confusion accompanying shifts and changes of powers, but it is absolutely forbidden to meddle in these; we must guide them always standing aloof.

"12. Although the insatiability which springs from the Indonesian character may sometimes provoke our resentment, we must not be hostile, but guide them, sternly indicating the established policy; a so-called flattering attitude is not allowed.

"13. As for the instruction of the Volunteer
Defence Corps, on this occasion particularly we
must scrutinize the attitude of officers and men
towards them, and the main points of the instruction
in order to deepen the feeling of unity; and we must
not let them get the feeling that they form an independent army.

"*pecial attention shall be paid to the training of instructors. This also applies to the Hei-Ho (T.N. auxiliary troops).

"14. In observing the real situation of the people we must not fall into the superficial view that the aim of securing their confidence in Japan and raising their war-mindedness has been attained, by judging from their enthusiasm and festive excitement;

but we must observe them, guiding them firmly and continually according to our principle of guidance.

"15. Planning and execution in the field of general direction shall be the duty of Military Government, and others must co-operate with it. There must be no inconsistency whatsoever in carrying out the policy.

"16. In general the several functions will be as follows:

"a. The 7th day of reptember is designated as National Independence Commemoration Day, and the week from the 7th until the 13th shall be the National Festival (temporary name) and thanksgiving functions will be performed at that time.

"b. On the 7th the Provincial Governors shall assemble and the Commander-in-Chief will indicate the policy to core with the new situation."

"c. On the 8th it is anticipated that a ceremony will be held at which the representatives of the inhabitants will express their gratitude.

"d. On the 9th or the 10th a special session of the Council shall be convened in every province and the special municipality, and on the 11th, a special session of the Central Council."

I may mention that I forgot to read the date,

2757.

your Honor: 7 September 1944.

I tender in evidence prosecution document

THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.

CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution's document

2757 will receive exhibit No. 1353.

(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked prosecution's exhibit No. 1353 and received in evidence.)

MRS. STROOKER: I beg the Court's leave to be allowed to read prosecution's exhibit 1353.

"CONFIDENTIAL

"Basic Outline of Propaganda and Enlightenment attendant on the Proclamation re Recognition of the Independence of the EAST-INDIES.

"GUNSEIKAMBU (Inspectorate of Military Administration).

"September 7, 1944. (Showa 19)

"Policy.

"Based upon the statement of the Commander-in-Chief, to promote the racial consciousness of the INDONESIANS and to incite this into a hostile feeling for the complete prosecution of the War to exterminate the U.S.A. and BRITAIN.

"Outline."

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"1. The promotion of the racial consciousness of the INDONESIAN Race by the establishment of racial ideals shall be planned.

"2. The responsibility and efforts of the race shall be stressed, in addition to which they shall be made to realize their aggravated mission for the complete prosecution of the War, and the inspiration which may be aroused shall be incited into a hostile feeling for the complete prosecution of the War to exterminate the U.S.A. and BRITAIN.

"3. Measures necessary for the Independence shall be left entirely to the ARMY, and they (T.N. the people) shall be made to understand the necessity of offering themselves entirely for defense and services to the Military Administration during the War.

"4. They shall be made to look back upon the process of the glorious spreading of creed of 'Hakko-iu (T.N. same as ICHI-U, i.e. making the whole world as one family) and the realization of the national policy of the EMFIRE (T.N. JAPAN) by means of the independence and participation in the government of BURMA and the Philiptines; in this way they shall be induced to increase their confidence in and reliance upon the EMPIRE (T.N. JAPAN) and also

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to manifest their deep emotion for the August Virtue. of His Majesty and the sincerity of their devotion to the Emperor.

"5. Those who have blamed persons co-operating with the Army or those who have been negative in their co-operation with JAPAN while maintaining a dubious attitude, shall be ostracised, and the fact that co-operation with the lilitary Administration implies the prosperity of INDONE-IA shall be clarified, thereby forcing out and checking all critical speech and actions.

"6. By emphasizing (T.N. the significance of) the GREAT EAST ASIA Conference and the Joint Declaration of GREAT EAST ASIA, and by the process of realization (T.N. of the ideals) thereof, they shall be made to become conscious of a feeling of certainty regarding the construction.

"7. In order to check the enemies' counterpropaganda beforehand, they shall be reminded of the
past when they groaned for ages in misery under
Jewish Oppression under the external appearance of
dazzling splendour, by tracing back the history of
the atrocities of the U.S.A., BRITAIN and HOLLAND.

"8. The co-operation of the CHINESE Residents, HALF-CASTES and ARABS is also worthy of attention."

"It shall be emphasized that these people, too, while basking in the new glory similar to the INDONESIANS, must, together with the latter, exert themselves towards the construction of a new society; and the policy of concord of all the peoples with the INDO-NESIAN Race as the nucleus shall be adhered to.

"9. The new policy shall be glorified by utilizing the actual results and the present condition of the co-operation of the people, the policy of the organization of the Volunteer Defence Corps and the participation in the Government as the background.

"Measures.

- "l. Every kind of information-organization and primitive method shall be utilized.
- "2. Newspapers shall issue extra-bulletins; there shall be no suspension of publication on Fundays; and on the first and second days four page newspapers shall be issued.
- "3. As for movies, the functions during a week after the official announcement shall be filmed and edited, by also taking into consideration the effects in foreign countries.
- "4. In the broadcasting the text of the official announcement in TOKYO, the statement of the Commander-

pondents),

in-Chief and the talks of the Authorities of the
Military Administration, etc., shall be repeated,
accompanied by clear and cheerful music. Moreover,
the inspiration and the determination of the native
inhabitants shall be put in the daily programmes.

"5. The national flag of Great JAPAN shall be
hoisted for one week from the day of the Official.
Announcement.

"6. The details of this Outline shall be planned

"6. The details of this Outline shall be planned and executed by the Department of Propaganda in cooperation with the Bureau of Native Affairs.

"To be distributed for office-purposes to:

"Department of Propaganda (including news corres-

"Bureau of Native Affairs,

"Bureau of Japanese Affairs."

"The promise made on 7 September 1944 by
Premier KOISO was announced in Java by the Commanderin-Chief in the following words:

the future it would be a just and true nation that will become a link in the Greater East / siatic Co-prosperity Ephere and has the duty to contribute to the develor ent of Greater East Ais under the leader-ship of Dai Nippon.

the standard of the nation that will be set up so that it would become one of the Greater East Asiatic nations in the true sense, then it is very necessary that they train themselves conselessly to become a Greater East Asiatic people until the final civtory is achieved, i.e., by thoroughly convincing themselves as a Greater East East Asiatic people.

"'Suppose the final victory will not be won, then the construction of Greater Last Asia can not be raterialized, and as a matter of course, the Last Indies will not get their independence.

"Therefore, all inhabitants must exert all their efforts to win the final victory in a sphere of perfect friendship between all nationalities.

"They must patiently endure all hardships and they also must remove all obstacles that might come

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up in the future.

"And, therefore, while waiting for the arrival of the amount of that glorious independence, all
the inhabitants must work hard for the continuance of
this war. "Ith such an attitude the duties for the
future can be fulfilled."

"The 'gratitude' of the Indonesians for KOISO's promise remained the theme on which the Japanese propaganda continued to play for months to come.

"At the same time, 16th Arry Headquarters were instructed to advise the Ministry of War as to what area should be declared 'independent' the date on which it was to take place, and the form of the new Government and state.

"The Military Government of Java in reply submitted a report entitled 'Gist of Measures for Guiding Independence', in which it was proposed to make Java independent first. Measures suggested to strengthen the national consciousness were the creation of the Ken Koku Gakuin (Academy for the Building of the State), and increased participation in the administration.

"Only two practical steps were taken at first to carry out KOISO's promise. On 8 September 1944 the population was allowed henceforth to fly the

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Indonesian alongside the Japanese flag but only on certan specified holidays, subject to strict regulations as to place and size. On Government buildings of the Administration the Japanese flag only was to be flown. On that same date permission was given to sing the 'Indonesia Raya'-song (Song of Great Indonesia) as the national anthem.

"On 11 September 1944 the Commander-in-Caief convoked a special session of the Tyuuco Sangi-In (Central Advisory Council), in order to answer the question of how the Indonesians could show to Japan and her arm their intense gratitude for the promise of future independence, and how the will of the people 'to fight to bring about the destruction of America and England could still further be enhanced.'

"Another extraordinary session of the Tyuuoo Sangi-In was held on 17 November 1944, and a motion was adopted to lay down a so-called 'Pancha Dharma' (Five Rules for the Conduct of Life) as a 'compass' for the Indonesian population.

"This 'Pancha-Dharma' reads as follows:
""'For the Indonesian People, to wit:

East Asia, are in this war one in life and death with Dai Rippon, and will contribute our efforts in all

sincerity because this present war stands up for justice and righteousness.

"12. We found an Indonesian State that is independent, unified, sovereign, just, and prosperous and that always will value the spiritual merits of Dai Nippon, and that will live as a true member in the family-sphere of Greater East Asia.

a glorious greatness by way of keeping up and elevating our own civilization and culture, by helping to develop the Asiatic culture and by beautifying the world's culture.

friendly relations with the nations of Greater East
Asia, we serve our country and people with all our heart
and with an unwavering mind while we will always believe in God Almighty.

strive for the achievment of an ever-lasting World

Peace based on the family-conception of the whole mankind according to the principle of Hakko Ichiu.'

"On 1 December 1944 participation in the Administration was extended to the appointment of Indonesean 'HukuOSyuutyokan' (Vice Governors) in several Syuu, and of more Indonesian Sanyo (Advisers) to the

various Departments of the Gunsoikanbu. A Sanyo-Kaigi (Board of San-yo) was established to meet regularly to advise the Gunsoikanbu in the periods of when the Tyuuoo Sangi-In (Central AdvisoryCouncil) was not in session.

"Meanwhile the propaganda service had introduced a new slogan for the 'Benteng Forjuangan Jawa'
(Java One Fortress). The object was to bring the population to the maximum war effort in view of the threat
of an Allied landing, now openly anticipated. Air
Raid Defense and Fire Brigade drills were daily routine
but besides, the population was worked upon by the
powerful propaganda machinery and trained in guerilla
fighting. They were instructed in the methods of
destroying small enemy formations with primitive
weapons (bamboo spears hardened in fire) and by mass
action.

"During a propaganda meeting in Batavia effigies of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Van der Plas (a
prominent Dutch administrator) were burned after having
been paraded through the whole town. American, British,
and Dutch flags were painted on the roads and trampled
upon by processions during a propaganda demonstration.
Religious propaganda urged the Moharmedans to declare
Holy War on the Occidental Powers."

"Three new semi-military organizations were established during this period, and the Tonari Gumi, finally, were used as a reinforcement for the Keiboodaain the defense of the village. On no occasions were these simple villagers ever told that such action on their part in war time would constitute a violation of the Rules of Land "arfare and would force the opposing party to treat them as 'franctire ars'.

"This training had an unintended result. One night in February 1945, a detachment of the Volunteer Defense Corps at Blitar (East Java) made a surprise attack on the Japanese guarding the armory, captured the arms as well as key-points in the town, for instance, Kompei HQ, the Telegraph and Telephone Exchange etc. Subsequently, an orgy of murder and robbery ensuel, the victims being all non-Indonesians and included Japanese. In the course of the next days the movement was partly settled by compromise, partly stamped out by violence and bloodshed.

"There was also increasing resistence against Japanese regulations in the economic field, especially against the delivery of agricultural produce and the recruiting of native labor.

"In order to overcome this resistance, strong measures were adopted against Indonesian civilian

officials who were held responsible for the poor results in recruiting. Many were dismissed and substituted by nationalist and occasionally by Islamite politicians. These new officials had come to the fore through the Java Hookoo Kai, or through the religious courses. The new arrivals in the Indenosean administrative corps were not fully competent, and they always had Japanese advisers. Approximately one-third of the corps was staffed with nationalists favourably disposed towards the Japanese. Required delivery of foodstuff and recruitment of coolies and volunteers were not achieved by many Ken.

"The Japanese realized that they were increasingly dependent upon the co-operation of the people and that they would have to bear the consequences of their own propaganda.

"In September 1942 already, Count Hideo
Kodama, then adviser to the Commander-in-Chief of Java
visited Tokyo to try to arouse interest in local views
concerning the East Indies. In November 1943 Sukarno
was sent to Japan and pressed Premier TOJO to grant
independence, but obtained no definite answer. At the
end of 1944, HAYASHI, the then highest civil adviser
to the Java Military Government went to Tokyo with the
consent of the Commander-in-Chief in Java to try to

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persuade Japan to support puppet-independence for the bast Indies.

"A Ken Koku Gokuin (Academy for the Building of the State) was instituted on 29 April 1945 with the object of influencing the minds of the future 'leaders' of the 'independent' state and of imbuing them with ideals of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere led by Japan, and with a correct conception of this leadership.

authorites for a speedy solution. On 30 April 1945, a conference took place at Singapore, attended by Chiefs of General Affairs Departments of all areas under the command of the 7th Area Army, comprising Java and Sumatra and commanded by ITAGAKI. At this conference the Soomubutyoo of Java explained to what extent the national consciousness of the Indonesians had now been fully awakened and emphasized the fact that there was no other way to regain the confidence of the population but by carrying out the promise of independence.

"Field Marshal TERAUCHI's Headquarters at
Saigon on 15 May 1945 requested views of local Headquarters on 'indepensence'. Java promptly responded
with a proposition to declare the whole of the Nether-

lands East Indies independent within a year. Singapore dodged the issue and said that it was not yet time to initiate independence.

"Subsequently, on 20 May 1945, at the instigation of ITAGAKI, a meeting was called of all Chiefs of Staff at Singapore. The conference recognized that the war was turning against Japan. Java was allowed to convene a 'Dokuritsu Chosa Junbi Iin' (Committee for the Study of Preparations for Independence). This committee was installed on 28 May 1945 and took a solemn oath of loyalty to live and to die with Japan."

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"'Naval' territories (Borneo, the Celebes, the Lesser Sunda Isles, etc.) were not represented at this conference, and measures discussed only related to 'Army' areas which narrowed down to Java. In Sumatra, political developments lagged behind that of Java, and it was not until February 1945 that a Central Advisory Council for Sumatra was installed.

"The Committee for the Study of Preparations for Independence consisted of approximately 60 members, including four Chinese, one Indo-Arab and one Eurasian. A Japanese was Deputy Chairman, and seven others were 'special members.' The Committee had an Administrative Bureau with a Japanese Deputy Chief.

"The Ordinance founding this Committee required that its findings had to be reported to the Gunseikan. Later, a new 'Committee for the Preparation of Independence' would be formed. It was clearly stipulated that the 'Committee for Study' was to confine itself to study and was not empowered to make any decision.

"The Committee met twice, from 29 May to 2 June and from 10 to 16 July 1945. These meetings were not open to the public. Among other things, a

constitution resembling that of the Philippine puppet-state was drafted.

"There was disappointment when it was learned that the Committee had no power to make decisions and had to restrict itself to Java.

"On 17 July 1945, the Supreme War Direction Council decided to adopt the policy of granting 'independence' to the East Indies as soon as possible. (Prosecution document No. 2759, Court exhibit No. 1370).

"This decision reached Java on 21 July 1945. According to directives from Tokyo, the territory of the new state was to comprise the whole of the Netherlands East Indies, while a 'Committee for the Preparation for Independence' was to be set up in the near future.

"Emphasis was laid upon the necessity for safeguarding the requirements for military operations. The Headquarters of the Southern Army at Saigon, which had submitted in June 1945 that the establishment of the puppet-state should not take place before the middle of 1946, and that the above-named Committee should at the earliest be set up towards the end of 1945, was ordered to work out the details.

"Consequently, on 30 July 1945 at ITAGAKI's

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Headquarters in Singapore a conference was hold of the Soomubutyoo (Feeds of General Affairs Departments of the Gunseikanbu) of the regions concerned. At this Conference a scheme was drawn up for guiding preparations for so-called independence, wherein the date was set for the spring of 1946.

"THE FIFTH PHASE

"August-September 1945.

"In the beginning of August 1945, Field
Marshal TERAUCHI received telegraphic orders from
Tokyo to hasten preparations for the Indonesian
puppet-state as much as possible, and to create
this state in September 1945. In pursuance of this
order, on 7 August 1945 TERAUCHI decreed the establishment of the Dokuritsu Junbi Iin (Committee for
the Preparation for Independence).

"This was effected by proclamation of the same date, reading as follows:

"'Proclamation of the Nanpoo-Gun (Japanese Southern Army).

"'Concerning the 'Committee for the Preparation for Independence of Indonesia.'

"'Based on the proclamation of the Japanese Government of 7 September last year, the Nanpoo-Gun has consistently been taking measures to guide the

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23 24 Indonesians. Owing to the spiritual awakening of the people up to this moment, they have all succeeded in achieving much and fast progress in their training for government and for the defense of the country with burning enthusiasm.

"'In response to the activity and the wholehearted efforts of the people, the Nanpoo-Gun expresses its approval of the installation towards the middle of August of a Committee for the Preparation for Independence of Indonesia; that Committee shall accelerate all measures concerning the final preparations for the installation of the Government of an independent Indonesia.

"12 o'clock, 7. VIII. 1945.

"On the same day on which the proclamation of Marshal TERAUCHI was published in Java, the Saikoo Sikikan (Commander-in-Chief) of Java also issued a proclamation, wherein, inter alia, it was stated:

"The desire to become an independent nation has now reached a high point and is flaring up all over Indonesia. It was in response to the expression of this desire that the Dai Nippon Teikoku solemnly promised to grant her independence, in accordance with the basic principle of the

Dai Nippon Teikoku, (Japanese Empire), i.e., the ideals of Hakko Ichiu. Since that promise the whole population has exerted itself to its utmost to honor the national obligations and the stronger became their determination to bring the war to a successful conclusion, so that the foundations for their independence could be built up fully and speedily. And now, as an independent nation, constituting a link in the chain of the Co-Prosperity Sphere of Greater East Asia, she will join and take her place in the battle-line for the common defense of Greater East Asia.

"The Gunseikan, (Chief Military Government) on this occasion stated the following:

"The independence of Indonesia as a member of the Co-Prosperity Sphere of Greater East Asia, is based upon humanitarian principles so as to contribute in the formation of a new world order. Therefore, the lofty ideals of the Indonesians and their intense enthusiasm conform with the basic ideals of the Dai Nippon Teikoku, i.e. the spirit of Makko Ichiu.

"'A new nation will have to meet some essential requirements: it must have sufficient strength, while its administrative machinery should

be organized in a smooth and simple way. Therefore, the first duty is to bring the war now being faced by the Indonesians to a successful conclusion. To this end the Indonesian nation must develop its war potential to its full extent, and together with Dai Nippon fight unceasingly to achieve final victory in this Greater East Asia War.!

"A few days of silence on the subject of independence followed; Japanese propaganda continued to elaborate upon the common ties of destiny between Japan and Indonesia: 'To live or die with Japan.'

"Meanwhile on 9 August 1945, a delegation of three leading Indonesian nationalists, including Sukarno, was flown to TERAUCHI's Headquarters at Saigon, and received by the Field Marshal on 11 August. They were told by the latter that it was originally intended to send the delegation to Tokyo to receive the Imperial Decree direct from the Japanese Government. On account of difficulties and dangers of communications and pressure of time, the Field Marshal had been instructed to transmit the contents of the Decree to the delegation on behalf of the Imperial Government.

"The main points were:

"a. The Japanese Government had been pleased

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to institute a Committee for the Preparation for Independence.

"b. The territory of the New State would include the entire Netherlands East Indies.

"c. The date when independence would be proclaimed in any territory was to be determined at the discretion of the Imperial Government, as soon as preparations were completed.

"d. The independent Government would be installed first in the island where preparations had been first completed. Subsequently this Government would be gradually extended to include areas where preparations had been completed.

"e. All Japanese demands in connection with the military situation were to be complied with.

"f. Sukarno was appointed Chairman of the Committee, which further consisted of thirteen representatives from Java, three from Sumatra and five from territories under naval occupation. Those members were appointed on nomination by local Japanese military commanders.

"On 14 August 1945 the newspapers in Java reported the news of Sukarno's return, and he was welcomed as the new leader of Indonesia by the Commander-in-Chief and many of the military and

Indonesian authorities. Meanwhile the Committee members from Sumatra, Borneo, the Celebes, and Bali, whose names were now published, were flown to Java, after having received their instructions from the military or naval authorities of those areas.

"Originally the first meeting of the Committee was fixed for 19 August.

"On 15 August, however, members of the Committee were secretly informed of Japan's capitulation.

"During the night of 16 to 17 August 1945,
the Committee, augmented by nationalists and youth
leaders, prominent during that period, met at the
residence of the Japanese Naval Liaison Officer
MAEDA. Sukarno had, prior to this meeting, conferred
with the Soomubutyoo (Chief General Affairs Department)
and MAEDA. It was decided to proclaim independence
the next morning.

"The constitution drafted by the Dokuritsu Chosa Junbi Iin (the Committee set up in May for the Study of Preparations for Independence) was hastily altered, and on the following morning the Independence was broadcast by Sukarno through a microphone, installed by the Japanese propaganda service on the veranda of his house."

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"The population of Java was still uninformed, except through rumor, about the capitulation of Japan. Radio receiving sets had been unfitted to pick up foreign broadcasts, even from
Tokyo. On instructions from the Commander-in-Chief,
the Japanese propaganda service kept Japan's defeat
secret.

"The newspapers, controlled by the Japanese propaganda service, and the local broadcasting stations between 17 and 21 August 1945 made no mention of anything but the announcement of independence and the proclamation of the constitution.

"On 21 August 1945, the papers published, next to the text of the Emperor's broadcast of 14 August on the surrender, a proclamation by the Commander-in-Chief of Java, containing, inter alia, the following words:

"'Dai Nippon is and will always be a friend to Indonesia, immutably and forever. We never will forget our oath; united in life and in death.'

"Until 21 August 1945 the Japanese authorities had kept Japan's defeat secret; this period has been called the 'stolen week.'"

This concludes the direct testimony of this witness. With the Court's permission he may be cross-examined.

THE PRESIDENT: It has been a pleasure to listen to you, Mrs. Strooker.

MRS. STROOKER: Thank you, your Honor.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Logan.

CROSS-EXAMINATION

BY MR. LOGAN:

Q Major, on page three of your affidavit
you state that after the Japanese troops entered the
Netherlands Indies they interned a group of influential
persons in the administration of the country's affairs.
Isn't that a usual procedure done by an Army of
Occupation?

A My report is based upon investigations in the Netherlands East Indies and upon large scale investigation in other -- I do not know whether in other countries during the occupation similar measures have been taken. My report is -- restricts itself to the Netherlands East Indies.

Q Well, may I ask you this, Major: As an army man wouldn't you say that that was proper procedure for an Army of Occupation?

A The point is that not only prominent sections of the Occidental population have been interned, but practically the whole white population; and that I think is unusual.

JAPANESE INTERPRETER: Owing to the fact that simultaneous translation can not be done, translation will be done according to the relay system.

THE NETHERLANDS INTERPRETER: The witness answer:

"Not only prominent sections of the population had been interned, but practically the whole white population of these islands and that I think is unusual in occupied territory."

Q The internment of these people, Major, was basically a security and control measure by the Japanese occupational forces, isn't that so?

A This was not only a security measure. I think that it is evident from documents introduced in this Court during these days; but it was obviously the deliberate intention on the part of the Japanese to eradicate Western influences.

Q Now, Major, I am not interested in conclusions. I would appreciate it if you would confine yourself to answering the questions, if you mind.

A The facts are these: That document issued by the Japanese Government and studied by me indicate that --

Q Well, Major, what I am interested in knowing is whether or not these measures of internment which were taken by the Japanese occupational forces were basically security and control measures?

A Confining myself -- restricting myself to facts, I have to state that in no document I found any indication of anything but that this internment

was solely a security measure.

Q Perhaps you didn't understand me, Major. I am asking you as an army man, from your experience, isn't it proper for the occupational forces to take basic security and control measures by interning those people in control of the country which is occupied?

MR. HYDE: Mr. President, I object to this question. It is calling for a conclusion. The Major has testified as to things that he saw. He has made a report as the document indicates. He is now being asked to give testimony, conclusive testimony, opinion testimony as an army officer. It is improper crossexamination, I submit.

THE PRESIDENT: All your questions are questions for the Court, Mr. Logan. We know that in-vading armies do take security measures, but never by interning on a wholesale scale such as he testifies to.

If you ask him whether in fact the internment of any Javanese was called for by the facts of the case, I will permit him to answer. It would be better to ask him what was the conduct of the Javanese prior to the internments.

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, he stated facts in his affidavit here and we must assume, naturally that he is claiming what was done was wrong.

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 THE PRESIDENT: If you suggest to him that the conduct of the Javanese warranted their internment he may answer. That is a question of fact.

The objection is upheld.

BY MR. LOGAN (Continued):

- Q How many people, Major, are there in the Netherlands East Indies?
 - A The population is approximately 70,000,000.
- Q How many of them born were Occidentals born in the Netherlands Indies?
- A Before the war the situation was that there were 250,000 Occidentals, the majority of which were born in these islands.

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Q And how many of those 250,000 lived in Java?

A I have no exact information, but it can be assumed that the majority of these 250,000 lived in Java.

Q And out of that 250,000, or slightly less than that in Java, only 62,000 were interned; is that right?

A That is not entirely correct. It has to be borne in mind that apart from these 60,000 civilian internees there was a number of 45,000 military personnel also interned as prisoners of war.

Q Well, would you say including that 45,000 there were about 100,000 in Java interned?

A That is correct.

Q Then that would leave about 100,000, slightly more than 100,000, who were not interned; is that correct?

A That is correct.

Q Is this statement correct on page 3 of your affidavit, that by the end of 1943 it may be said that all Occidentals not born in the Netherlands Indies, both male and female, had been interned with a few exceptions, men and women above 65 or 70 years of age?

A That is perfectly correct.

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Q Do I understand that about 100,000 of the people of Java were over 65 or 70 years of age?

A That would be entirely incorrect, because we are dealing here with Occidentals not born in the Indies.

Wasn't that what you were talking about in your affidavit, and what we have been talking about here?

A The question put to me was, what was the Occidental population of the Netherlands East Indies. I included the Occidentals born in these islands as well as outside the islands.

Q Am I correct in saying that there were only about 50,000 full-blooded Dutch in all the East Indies?

A I am not entirely clear about the meaning of the question. Do you mean to say whether before the war there were no more than 50,000 Occidentals of pure Dutch extraction in the islands?

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A I wish to stress that these figures are not part of my investigations; also, I have no information -- no correct information now, but I do think that the figures are somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000.

Q Then there were about 150,000 Eurasians, is that correct?

 A That should be approximately correct.

Q You also state in your affidavit, Major, that when the Japanese occupational forces came in all the bank balances were immediately frozen. Isn't that the usual procedure for an Army of Occupation to follow?

MR. HYDE: Mr. President, again I submit that the testimony of this witness is a report of what he saw. He does not purport to indicate in there whether it was usual or unusual. I submit that it is improper cross-examination.

THE PRESIDENT: The question invades our province. It is for us to say what are the powers and authorities of an invading army under public international law. It is for the witness to state the facts to which that law might be applied. Even if the Major were an authority on public international law, we still would have to decide questions of law.

MR. LOGAN: May I be heard on that, your Honor, please?

THE PRESIDENT: Public international law is no longer a question of fact for an international body like this, which is here to apply public international law.

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, we have

a witness here who has set forth a number of acts, which he states were done by the Japanese Army. There are several ways in which we can cross-examine this witness on those acts. One is by inquiring of him whether or not this was the usual method which was adopted by any invading army.

THE PRESIDENT: The powers of an invading army are determined by public international law, which we alone decide. You may examine him as to the facts with a view to our applying the public international law. If in his statement he has expressed any views about those matters we will disregard what he says. I told you in Chambers that we were going to take from this witness only answers of fact, and not expressions of opinion or conclusions.

MR. LOGAN: I am examining him, your Honor, only on statements of fact which he has made in his affidavit.

THE PRESIDENT: You may ask him whether the facts were not such as to warrant what the Japanese Army did in any particular case. Even that may be too much. It may be that all you can ask him is what were the facts which preceded the Japanese action.

MR. LOGAN: By asking him, your Honor, as

you suggest, as to whether or not the facts warranted that would be asking his opinion. That is just what I wanted to avoid doing.

THE PRESIDENT: I said that might be too much, and I went on to say you can ask him what was the conduct of the Javanese before the Japanese interned them.

You can review your proposed cross-examination during the recess, Mr. Logan.

We will recess for fifteen minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1445, a recess was taken until 1500, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed. THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Logan.

BY MR. LOGAN (Continued):

- Q Major, what bank balances were frozen?
- A All bank balances.
- Q And if these bank balances hadn't been frozen, I suppose the Dutch could have used the money and withdrawn from the bank and bought ammunition, perhaps, or some other articles which would have endangered the success of the Occupation, isn't that so?

THE PREFIDENT: Mr. Logan, as I am reminded by a colleague, this is really argument with the witness and not cross-examination.

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal pleases, it is my understanding from the statement before the recess that we could inquire into what acts of the Javanese could possibly have brought about the things that were done by the Japanese.

THE PREFIDENT: You may ask the witness, did the Javanese borrow money from the banks to buy arms to use against the Japanese?

MR. LOGAN: I do not see where that would be very helpful, if the Tribunal pleases, because

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the witness has stated in his affidavit that these bank balances were immediately frozen. I want to know what is wrong with it. In other words, this witness has testified to all these acts; and, instead of setting forth in his affidavit what was wrong with these, to try to point out to the Tribunal where it was illegal, perhaps, for the Japanese to have done what they have done. All he does here in his affidavit is set forth the bare facts. I want to find out what was wrong with them.

THE PREFIDENT: In other words, you are asking the witness to judge the Japanese. We will do that.

MR. LOGAN: No. I am not asking that, if the Tribunal please. My point is that all these -instead of the prosecution setting forth these acts and showing where they were wrong, which the burden is on them to do, they merely set forth the acts; and I am trying to find out from the witness what he claims is wrong with it.

THE PREFIDENT: In other words, you want to argue with him.

NR. LOGAN: No, I do not want to argue with him, your Honor.

THE PRESIDENT: You cannot ask him any

question which involves a judgment by him of whether the Japanese were right or wrong in what they did. BY MR. LOGAN (Continued):

Q You state in your affidavit, Major, that the Javanese were prohibited from using their radio. If that restriction had not been placed, would it not have been possible for the people there to endanger the success of the Occupation?

THE PRESIDENT: We know that occupying forces, to feel secure, must exercise some super-vision over the use of the radio and other means of communication. Why ask him? We could tell him.

MR. LOGAN: Then, may I take it it is the Tribunal's position that the Japanese Occupation force were within their rights in turning these people in administration and banning the use of radio and burning books and abolishing certain councils as in accordance with international law?

THE PRESIDENT: That is a testy observation, not justified by anything said by me. The question is whether the Japanese were justified in doing what they did. That will be ascertained by getting from this witness the facts of the particular case and letting us weigh them up in the light of the law.

BY MR. LOGAN (Continued):

O Do you know, Major, if any of the Javanese people used their radios to get in communication with the Dutch government?

A Attempts have been made on a few occasions to get into touch with the Netherlands Government through transmitters, not wireless receiving sets, which were mentioned in the statement.

THE PRESIDENT: I will place no limit on you in getting from this witness, if you can, facts as to the behaviour of the Javanese which would tend to show the Japanese took only necessary measures of security, but they must be facts, not opinions.

Q Then, Major, would you say it was necessary in order to prevent espionage and sabotage that the radios be sealed?

MR. HYDE: I'r. President, I respectfully suggest that that cuestion also calls for his opinion.

THE PRESIDENT: Objection upheld.

Q was any such use made of the radios to make it necessary to do this?

A Cases which I know of where transmitters have been used to contact the Netherlands Government occurred in the course of 1943, while receiving sets had been sealed as far back as April '42. That is

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one year and six months before these cases occurred.

O With respect to these books that were burned, did any of them contain any anti-Japanese sentiments?

A Naturally one of the first categories of books to be burned were those which contained anti-Japanese sentiments.

at the time Japanese occupied the Netherlands East
Indies -- were their sympathics anti-Japanese?

A In enswer to this question, a direct enswer I can not give; I can only say that these councils were made up of representatives of all the various communities in Java, in the Indias, and it is possible or probable that among them there were those who had anti-Japanese sentiments.

C Was there any restriction in these councils with respect to the representation of the Javanese people on them?

A As far as I know, there was no restriction on the grounds of racial descent, so that all Javanese could be representatives on trese councils.

O When the law courts were abolished a new system was set up by the Japanese, isn't that so?

A The witness' answer is, "That is correct."

Q And these new law courts administrated crim-

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24 25 inal and civil law in the Netherlands East Indies?

- A That is correct.
- ? It was merely a substitution of one system for another, isn't that so?
- A I have only pointed out that old courts were abolished and new courts were instituted.
- Were there any riots or disorders amongst the Javanese people which required a regulation that they could not meet in groups except under police supervision?
- A Indeed, when the Japanese forces entered Java robbery by gangs have occurred. Raiding parties and gang robberies have occurred.
- O So that it was necessary to enforce such regulations, is that so?
- A It is not clear to me what the advantages were of instituting new courts in this connection.
- C I am not speaking about courts, Major, I am talking about meetings of various associations under police supervision.

A To my mind, it must have been desirable at the beginning, at the outset, to prohibit gatherings and associations. I wish to point out, however, that when I say associations I meant gatherings, the ganging together of people, but I do not include the prohibition of associations.

O Prior to the ccupation -- Have you finished your answer?

- A Yes, enswer finished.
- O You understand English, don't you, Major?
- A I do understand English.

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Q Prior to the Occupation, Major, were the public radio broadcasts and moving picture activities controlled by the government?

A Before the war broadcasts, public broadcasts, were handled by the NIROM, which was a private concern but which was bound by regulations laid down by the government.

Q And were anti-Japanese sentiments broadcast over these radios up to the time of Occupation, perhaps two months thereafter?

A As and since the Netherlands East Indies were at war with Japan, there is no doubt that some anti-Japanese broadcasts have been made after the outbreak of war and before the ccupation.

Q Is that same thing true with respect to moving pictures and the newspapers?

A Natually in the newspapers, as well, anti-Japanese sentiments have been expressed. As far as films, cinematographical films, are concerned, the film industry in Java was backward and I do not know of any pictures having been made which expressed anti-Japanese sentiments.

Q Were the radio and newspapers used for this purpose for about two months after the Occupation?

A The answer is no. Newspapers, films, and

radio broadcasts came immediately under Japanese control and what I have seen of papers and what I have heard over the radio contained nothing which I thought could give any offense to the Japanese, which would lead to restrictive measures.

Q What is the literacy in the Netherlands East Indies? Am I correct in saying it is about seven per cent?

A Literacy -- the correct figures about literacy in the Netherlands East Indies are not known to me. I think it is possibly slightly more than seven per cent. I think it is approximately ten per cent, and the ten per cent refers to the whole population of the Netherlands East Indies, to all of the seventy million people.

Q How soon after the Japanese Occupation were the schools closed?

A The same day of the Occupation.

Q When were they reopened?

A The Indonesian primary schools were reopened after the Emperor's birthday on the 29th of April.

They were reopened with a provisionary curriculum.

This all refers to those schools that were not used for billets or otherwise occupied by the Japanese Army.

It was not until August, 1942, that all Indonesian

primary schools were reopened with the new curriculum.

Q And did they continue to teach the same subjects with the addition of certain courses in the Japanese language, Japanese songs and dances?

A As I pointed out in my statement, subjects such as general history -- such subjects as general history were dropped and other subjects were generally -- other subjects of a non-political nature were maintained but they suffered from the introduction of Japanese language, Japanese dances, music, etc., into the curriculm.

Q vere the history courses changed to eliminate any anti-Japanese sentiments that might have appeared in the history courses prior to the Occupation?

A General history as a subject was entirely reorganized, reformed, and about anti-Japanese sentiments which I don't think --

Q At the bottom of page 9 of your affidavit
you make a statement --

THE MONITOR: Mr. Logan, I don't think the witness had finished his statement yet.

MR. LOGAN: I am sorry.

A (Continuing) It was not merely a question of dropping, or eradicating, occasional anti-Japanese sentiments. The whole subject was reformed, entirely

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new general history was introduced giving the purely Japanese view on it.

I presume the books that were used prior to the Occupation gave the view of history from the Dutch viewpoint, is that so?

Before the war not only was Dutch history taught but also general world history, and I don't believe that there was any particular prejudice in that teaching.

At the bottom of page 9 of your affidavit, Major, you have a statement to the effect that the basic principles upon which these regions -- I am referring to all the regions in the Netherlands Fast Indies -- were administered were entirely similar in reality. Do you mean by that civil or militarily administered?

I meant to say in this that administration in the islands outside of Java, as well as administration in Java, was along the same lines laid down in Tokyo.

I am asking you if you mean civil or military administration.

As I point out later on in my statement, the Netherlands East Indies is divided in various areas, some under the Nevy, some under the Army. In both

areas there was a military administration. I mean an administration carried out by officers, service officers, over the civilian population.

Q Was the administration conducted by civilians or by military men?

A In Java there were three distinct categories of officers. The first category consisted of regular Army officers of whom, for instance, the Gunshikan was one. The second category consisted of civilians who, for the purpose, were given a military rank, while the third category consisted of civilians only.

Q Now let us take the teachers. Were they Japanese people or were they natives who taught the schools?

A Teachers in primary schools were chiefly Indonesian with only a scattering of Japanese.

Q How about the other higher schools of learning?

A The same is true for intermediate schools.

Q How about colleges, law schools and medical schools?

A I have mentioned the situation in the higher -institutions of higher learning where I said that the
medical college at Batavia was instructed chiefly by
Japanese.

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Q Was that the only medical college where Japanese instructors were used?

A Under Japanese Occupation there was but one medical college in the whole of the NEI.

Q All the other instructors were not Japanese, is that it?

A I have stated already that at Batavia Madical College all the professors were Japanese.

THE INTERPRETER: Will the defense counsel please restate whether he referred to the one Batavia Medical College or to all medical colleges?

MR. LOGAN: Maybe I didn't make myself clear. Maybe I didn't understand you.

Q The way I understand it, all the medical colleges had Japanese instructors, or was it just one school that had them?

A In the whole of the Netherlands Fast Indies there was only one medical college and that one was at Batavia.

THE PRESIDENT: We will adjourn now until half past nine on Monday morning.

(Thereupon, at 1600, an adjournment was taken until Monday, 9 December 1946, at 0930.)